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ABSTRACT

This report examines mobility, enrollment, and policy trends regarding overseas students in the United Kingdom (UK). First, a brief description of education in the UK is presented. Next, UK policy developments to 1989 (including the introduction of full-cost fees) concerning overseas students are discussed, including an account of policy development since the early 1960s. The report then presents information regarding overseas student enrollment in the UK (mainly for the academic year 1988/89) and compares this with the data for 1979/80, the last year before full-cost fees. Also examined are the components of British government policy, those elements which, it is noted, basically form the framework within which the situation of overseas students today must be viewed. Finally, a critique of current British policy and practice towards overseas students is presented. Appendices (comprising two-fifths of the report) include supporting narrative and statistics on overseas student enrollment in Britain since 1979, British government-funded scholarship schemes, key policy statements on overseas students since 1979, a list of higher education institutions in the United Kingdom, and a list of the organizations involved in overseas student affairs and in education. Contains a 66-item bibliography. (GLR)

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Country Studies on Student Mobility

BRITAIN

Lynn Williams

May 1990

Commonwealth Secretariat

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CHAPTER ONE

Education in the UK

It is higher education provision and policy which are of most significance in the context of overseas students' position in Britain but an understanding of the basic structure of secondary provision will also be useful to those readers who are unfamiliar with the British system. Before going on to analyse tertiary provision this chapter therefore begins with a brief description of secondary education in the UK.

I Secondary school and non-advanced education

Publicly-funded education is available to all children aged 5 and over in Britain. Secondary education generally begins at the age of 11. Participation in full-time education is obligatory until the age of 16. Pupils can voluntarily continue their secondary education for up to three more years, either in school sixth forms or through non-advanced further education (NAFE) courses provided by the many local colleges or the polytechnics.

The majority of children are educated in the maintained sector. Here, the organisation of educational provision varies considerably. Although most pupils attend comprehensive schools there is a wide range of school types, from traditional grammar schools to the recently-developed city technology colleges. Education is provided free of charge in the maintained sector. Some parents exercise their right to send their children to schools in the independent or private sector where fees are charged. In 1987-8 there were nearly eight and a half million pupils in maintained sector schools (3.7 million of them in secondary schools) and 622,000 in the independent sector. A further 360,000 people aged under 21 were attending full-time NAFE courses. [DES Statistical Bulletin 4/90]

Ia) School and NAFE examinations

Pupils in England, Wales and Northern Ireland generally take their first external examinations after 5 years of secondary study. These are the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examinations. A broad range of subjects is studied at GCSE level and, in general, pupils take the examination in about 9 subjects. Secondary education beyond the age of 16 is more specialised. Pupils usually study two or three subjects in the sixth form and take their General Certificate of Education (GCE) Advanced level examinations 2 years after their GCSEs. A new examination, the Advanced Supplementary (AS) level, was introduced in 1989 in an attempt to broaden the curricular base. It is intended that pupils should be able to take two AS levels in place of one A level.

The Scottish and Northern Irish education systems are administered separately from those of England and Wales. The organisation of the Scottish system in particular differs significantly from that of the rest of the UK and the examinations sat by Scottish pupils differ from those described above. In Scotland pupils generally take SCE (Scottish Certificate of Education) Ordinary level examinations at the age of 16. These can be followed one year later by Higher level examinations. Many pupils sit 5 or 6 Highers. Some Scottish school children remain in secondary education for yet one more year to take an additional examination, the Certificate of Sixth Year Studies (CSYS).

A and AS levels and, in Scotland, Highers are the examinations which are most widely acceptable as entrance qualifications for higher education. A range of other qualifications can also be pursued at secondary level. In particular, vocationally-oriented qualifications such as those offered by the Business and Technician Education Council (BTEC) and the Scottish Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC) are becoming increasingly popular, not only as a route into employment but also for the purpose of matriculation into higher education.

II The tertiary education system

Tertiary or higher education in Britain is usually regarded as education beyond the standard represented by GCE A-level study. An alternative name is advanced further education (AFE). There are a number of colleges and one university (Buckingham) in the private or independent sector. There are also a large number of privately-run English language schools. However, the majority of higher education institutions in the UK are financed primarily out of public funds. There were over 600,000 students in full-time higher education in 1987-8. Some 15 per cent of 18 year olds in Britain enter higher education.

This section is concerned with publicly maintained institutions. These come in a variety of shapes and sizes and have a variety of titles - university, polytechnic, central institution, college and institute - to match. Most offer a wide variety of courses leading to qualifications ranging from undergraduate diplomas to research degrees.

IIa) The institutions

Universities

There are 46 universities in the UK. Some, like Oxford and Cambridge, were founded in medieval times, some date from the 19th century, and many are relatively new institutions, established earlier this century or during the period of higher education expansion which followed the Robbins report in the 1960's. Universities are autonomous institutions,

empowered by royal charter to award their own degrees. They are now funded primarily through the Universities' Funding Council (UFC) which succeeded the University Grants Committee (UGC) in April 1989. For the present, most of their income (over 70 per cent) comes from central government in this way; just under 20 per cent comes from tuition fees and the remainder comes from private benefactions and research grants and contracts. Two universities (London and Wales) are federal universities with a number of separate and autonomous constituent colleges. A list of British universities (and of the other types of institution described below) may be found at Appendix D.

Polytechnics and colleges

There are 30 polytechnics, 29 of them located in England and one in Wales. There are also a large number of colleges and institutes of higher education of varying sizes throughout the UK. Most were established in their present form since the mid-1960's but in many cases developed out of well-established local technical or education colleges.

Until April 1989, these institutions were funded by local education authorities. Although a few of the smaller colleges remain under local authority control, all polytechnics and most of the colleges which offer higher education (as opposed to NAFE) are now financed directly out of central government funds, administered by the Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council (PCFC). Polytechnics and some colleges of higher education now award their own degrees, with the approval of the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA). The degrees of some colleges are validated by the CNAA or by a local university. Polytechnic and college degrees, however validated, are of equivalent status to university degrees.

Scottish Central Institutions

There are no polytechnics in Scotland. Here, most of the higher education courses offered outside the universities and colleges of education are provided by the 15 central institutions. The first of these institutions were founded at the start of the present century. They are centrally funded through the Scottish Education Department. With the exception of a small number of institutions which award their own degrees, Central Institutions' degrees are validated by the CNAA or by a local university.

IIb) Courses and qualifications

The academic year usually begins in September or October and lasts for three terms of about 10 weeks (although in a few cases a two semester system is used). A wide range of subjects can be studied and, although it is usual for students to specialise in a particular field of study, modular degrees which can be tailored to meet individual requirements are

becoming increasingly popular. Course structures and teaching methods vary according to the level of study and type of institution (with polytechnics and colleges widely regarded as offering more vocationally-oriented courses than the universities). In all types of institution and at all levels of study, there is increasing provision of courses which are specially tailored to meet the needs of overseas students and their sponsors.

Degrees

There are three levels of degree qualification: bachelor's, master's and doctoral. First or bachelor's level degrees (most often BA or BSc) usually involve three (sometimes four) years' full-time undergraduate study and examinations. Some degrees, like those in medicine, dentistry and veterinary science, take five or six years. Undergraduate study in Scotland usually takes four years and leads to a Master's degree.

Postgraduate study is available in all universities and polytechnics, in most central institutions and in some colleges of higher education. Master's degrees (usually MA, MSc or MPhil) can generally be taken only by those students who have reached a certain standard at first degree level. They are awarded for one or two years' full-time study leading to examinations (taught master's), for original research or for a combination of the two. Doctoral degrees (usually PhD or DPhil) involve three years' original research and the presentation of a thesis.

Other qualifications

As well as degrees, higher education institutions also offer a range of other qualifications. These include diplomas (both undergraduate and postgraduate) in various subjects, teaching qualifications and vocational qualifications like the BTEC/SCOTVEC Higher National Diploma (HND). Increasingly, access or bridging courses are also being made available to enable students (both home and overseas) to improve their skills and knowledge so that they are able to benefit from mainstream degree and diploma courses. Finally, some institutions are willing to accept 'occasional' students who enrol only for a year or even a term and leave with no formal qualification.

IIc) Admission into higher education

Although admissions requirements for undergraduate courses are often expressed in terms of GCE or SCE examinations, institutions are usually prepared to accept a broad range of equivalent qualifications. The BTEC and SCOTVEC certificates and diplomas and access courses have already been mentioned in this regard. Also widely accepted are the International and European Baccalaureates together with a range of other overseas examinations. The British Council is usually prepared

to offer advice on the equivalence of overseas qualifications through NARIC, the National Academic Recognition Information Centre (see Appendix E). With the exception of proof of competence in the English language (and even here there are wide variations in the standard required), in general there are no set rules governing the admission of overseas students; in the final analysis, the decision on each individual application for admission rests with the institution concerned.

Applications for most postgraduate courses and research are made direct to the university, polytechnic or college. For most undergraduate courses (exceptions are those offered by the Scottish central institutions and some colleges - generally the smaller ones - in England, Wales and Northern Ireland) applications are made through a central organisation known as a clearing house. The clearing houses are listed in Appendix E and their application procedures are described in their respective handbooks.

III) Recent changes in British education

British education is in a state of flux. Its future has been the subject of much debate in recent years. Legislative changes such as those embodied in the Education Reform Act of 1988, together with other, related, developments are having a significant impact upon the organisational, financial and philosophical basis of both secondary and higher education in this country. Some of these changes - more especially those in higher education - are likely to impact significantly upon the situation of overseas students in Britain.

IIIa) Changes in secondary education

Because they have little direct effect upon overseas student policy and provision it is not appropriate here to do more than to list briefly some of the more important recent developments at secondary level.

Two provisions of the 1988 Act have given rise to much discussion: the introduction of a national curriculum under which the core of knowledge to be attained by pupils will be determined centrally; and the enabling of schools to opt out of local authority control and to be funded directly by government. The introduction of the AS-level examination in an attempt to broaden the base of sixth-form study and the introduction of the GCSE examination have both already been mentioned. Because the GCSE is less like the School Certificate offered in a number of overseas countries than its predecessor the GCE O level its introduction may eventually have the effect of reducing UK institutions' familiarity with overseas qualifications. (However, this may be offset at least in part by the fact that one UK examination board, the

University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate does offer an international version of the GCSE in some subjects.) Other changes in secondary education include the introduction of new patterns of provision (eg, sixth-form and tertiary colleges) and the growth in popularity of non-traditional (ie, non-A-level) qualifications like BTEC.

IIIb) Changes in higher education

Background

The 1950's and especially the 1960's were a period of government-led and -financed expansion in higher education. A number of new institutions were established and there were significant increases in the number and proportion of young people going on to post-secondary study. Economic difficulties during the 1970's meant that government felt unable to sustain this publicly-financed boom and a period of retrenchment began. The pressure on higher education funding was intensified after the 1979 election of Mrs Thatcher's first Conservative administration. Substantial cuts to the recurrent block grant which institutions received in respect of their home-fee-paying undergraduates were imposed in 1981 (thereby effectively imposing a quota on student numbers) and funds have been more or less consistently squeezed since then.

Government ministers have argued that the post-Robbins level of public spending on higher education was unjustifiable and unsustainable and that those working in higher education must adapt to the new, challenging and harsher environment. Rightly or wrongly, many of the latter consider higher education to be under siege, its purpose and value constantly questioned. The mood is one of distrust, discontent and uncertainty; autonomy and confidence have been eroded and relationships with government have deteriorated.

Policy objectives

Recently-stated objectives of government policy on higher education are very much in line with the broader tenets of current Conservative philosophy. Institutions, the government says, should become less dependent on the state and seek alternative sources of funding to the block grant. They should become more efficient and more "market-oriented", more responsive to the needs of the student customer. In contrast to the early 1980s, institutions are now being urged to accept significantly more students. A doubling of the age participation index (the proportion of 18 year olds entering higher education) from 15 to 30 per cent over the next 25 years has been called for by ministers. There are calls too for a broadening of access so that more mature and other non-traditional students participate. It is clear, however, that this expansion will not be financed wholly out of public funds.

Government has taken a number of steps to try to achieve the objectives outlined above:

The funding councils and income diversification

The two new funding councils established in April 1989 (the UFC and PCFC - see above, section IIa) are likely to give government more financial control over the institutions than it was previously able to exert. The concept of competitive bidding has been introduced in both sectors. Institutions will be required to bid against each other for central funds by setting competitive 'prices' (ie, levels of goverment grant required) for educating students in different disciplines. Government has already issued 'guide prices' for different subjects, and the implication is that institutions will have to undercut the guidelines if they are to be competitive. It is possible that top-up fees will have to be charged to home students in order fully to recoup costs. The cuts in higher education funding via the recurrent block grant have already forced many institutions to look to other sources of funds such as industrial and commercial sponsorship. As we shall see, since the introduction of full-cost fees in 1979, overseas student fees income has also become a much more important element in institutional finances.

Market forces and demographic change

There has been much discussion about how institutions might be persuaded to become more responsive to market forces. Recruitment of overseas students has already become much more market-oriented as a result of full-cost fees (see below, chapter 2). Recent demographic trends have also, although less dramatically, affected institutions' approach towards the recruitment of home students (and towards the question of broadening access). A fall of nearly a quarter in the number of young people of an age to enter higher education is projected for the years 1987-96. It is acknowledged, however, that the fall in population is likely to be less marked among social classes I and II, from which the majority of higher education entrants have traditionally come. Even so, although demographic decline has not yet begun to bite on enrolment, institutions, aware that the pool of school-leavers is shrinking, have begun to take steps to attract more mature students and other non-traditional entrants. There are signs that, in an attempt to preserve their share of the market, institutions are becoming more flexible with regard to entrance qualifications and the length and structure of courses.

Market forces and funding: fees and grants

Government has taken steps to push these developments further. In April 1989 it announced plans to make home-fee-paying undergraduates' tuition fees a more significant element in institutional income. Payment through the block grant to cover

the cost of projected student numbers would be correspondingly reduced. Fees for home students will be increased from the £607 payable in 1989-90 to £1,675 in 1990-91. From 1991-92, there will be three bands of fees ranging from £1,675 to £4,500, depending on the course of study. As a result, the ratio of block grant to fees income in universities will decrease from about 10:1 to 2:1. Because in most cases fees are paid out of public funds, by the local authorities, this change will not affect the students themselves. The local authorities will be provided with additional funds (in effect a transfer from the block grant budget) to finance the increased payment. In the words of Mr Baker, the then Secretary of State for Education, "A higher tuition fee gives institutions a much stronger incentive to compete for and recruit students, mount new courses and improve the effectiveness of their teaching." It is argued that the new fee levels, although below average cost, will be above the marginal cost of adding extra students to many courses and that, in the words of Mr Jackson, the Minister responsible for higher education, "there is considerable scope for low-cost expansion".

Vouchers and full-cost fees

The scheme outlined above stops short of more radical proposals to provide students with vouchers covering the full cost of their education which they could use to "shop around" for the best deal. Because, under the scheme actually adopted, fees will be below full average cost, the block grant, although reduced, will still be a large element in institutional finances and the two funding councils will retain a predominant role. The vouchers scheme would have shifted the balance of public funding of higher education much more thoroughly towards fees. It would have emasculated the block grant and would have immersed higher education in the market much more completely.

Some university vice-chancellors have recently advocated the introduction of a system of funding much more closely related to that envisaged by the proponents of the vouchers scheme. In September 1989 they outlined proposals under which home students would be charged full-cost fees and block grants would be abolished. Fees would be paid from a variety of sources: loans, sponsorship, parental contributions and government bursaries. Except for research and capital projects and any government contribution towards students' fees, there would be no public funding of higher education. The objectives of the plan are: to maintain academic quality in the face of government's unwillingness fully to finance the expansion for which it has called; to end the indiscriminate subsidy involved in providing universal free tuition; and to maintain institutional autonomy against the encroachment of central

authority. By no means all institutional heads are in favour of the proposals. Government has so far not responded to them.

Student loans

One further controversial and noteworthy development relates to the funding of student maintenance. Hitherto, home undergraduates have had two principal sources of support to cover their living costs: means-tested grants from public funds and contributions from parents', spouses' or their own income. Government has now introduced measures to freeze grants at 1990-91 levels and to make available loans to "top-up" maintenance funds. Government argues that loans will lead to increased participation in higher education; opponents of the plan argue that they wi'l deter poorer students, that repayment default will be a problem and that the administrative costs cannot be justified.

* * *

The likely influence on the situation of overseas students of some of the above developments in higher education is discussed below in chapter 4. The relationship between home and overseas student policies is far from being a one-way relationship, however. It is a symbiosis in which policy on overseas students (who make up some 10 per cent of the full-time student population in the UK) is also an important element in higher education policy as a whole. The influence of the introduction of full-cost fees in 1979 on institutional finances and on attitudes towards marketing has already been mentioned. In many ways, developments in overseas student policy over the last ten years have been both a touchstone of government's attitudes towards higher education as a whole and a harbinger of subsequent developments for home students in that sector.

CHAPTER TWO

Overseas students in the UK: the history of policy development to 1989

The British Government's 1979 decision to introduce full-cost fees for overseas students was the most momentous single event in the development of this country's overseas student policy. One distinguished commentator from the USA [Chandler, 1989] has gone so far as to write that, with full-cost fees, "Foreign student policy in Great Britain...entered the modern age." But, epoch-making though full-cost fees were, they do need to be seen in the context of earlier policy measures - measures of which, in a sense, they were a logical culmination [Williams, P., 1984]. Although this chapter concentrates on the period after 1979 it therefore begins with a brief account of policy development since the early 1960's.

I Developments to 1979

Britain has a long tradition of acting as host to students from abroad, particularly to those from the countries of the Empire and, after the coming of independence, the Commonwealth. By 1960 there were over 27,500 overseas students in publicly-funded education (including non-advanced further education) in this country. Although the enrolment level was increasing (from only 21,000 in 1958, for example), the size and growth of the population were not yet issues of major public or governmental concern. Neither was the fact that overseas students paid fees at the same rate as those nominally paid by British students and that their education was therefore subsidised out of public funds. Enrolment of overseas students remained entirely unregulated.

During the late-1960s and especially during the 1970s, however, a number of factors combined to increase governmental and public awareness of the overseas student presence. Chief among these factors were rapidly escalating overseas demand and increasing concern about the mounting cost of education at a time of economic difficulty. There was, too, a growth in racist attitudes as a result of recent large-scale immigration, and a questioning of how far Britain should, after independence, remain responsible for educating the citizens of its new Commonwealth partners.

The first step towards reducing expenditure on the fee subsidy and towards regulating overseas student numbers was announced by Labour's Mr Crosland in 1966 and took effect at the start of the 1967/68 academic year. For the first time overseas students

were charged differential (ie, higher than the home rate) fees. Overseas student fees stood at £250 for higher education and £150 for NAFE. These were between three and a half and five times more than the fees which were nominally charged to home students (but which, in most cases, were paid out of public funds through the local authority grant). Fee levels were raised substantially during the 1970s but still the number of students from abroad continued to rise. (By 1976 it had reached an overall total of 86,400, with 59,500 in higher education.) In 1977, therefore, the Government turned to another form of regulatory mechanism - quotas, to be administered voluntarily by the institutions in order to stabilise total numbers at recent levels.

The number of overseas students actually peaked in 1978/79 at just over 90,000 (of whom 63,600 were in higher education). The combination of market (fees) and administrative (quotas) regulation had had some effect at least. Numbers fell by some 2,500 in 1979/80 - although this became known only later, after further important policy decisions were taken. But even if this information had been available to Government in 1979 it is an open question whether or not, in the atmosphere of mounting economic difficulty then prevailing, ministers would have been satisfied that the effects of existing regulatory policy were sufficiently radical.

II The introduction of full-cost fees 1979/80

IIa) The decision

In May 1979 Mrs Thatcher's first Conservative Government was elected to office. Within six months the overseas student situation was transformed. Government saw its immediate task to be the reduction of public expenditure. As part of these urgent cuts, overseas student fees were increased by 33 per cent to £1,230 for university postgraduates, £940 for other higher education and £520 for NAFE. Even so, according to the Chancellor, Sir Geoffrey Howe, overseas students' education was still subsidised to the extent of 60 per cent of full educational costs.

On 1st November the Department of Education and Science (DES) announced Government's decision to charge overseas students fees covering the full cost of their education, beginning in the academic year 1980/81. (It later transpired that the decision was reached by the DES and Treasury alone: other Government departments were not consulted.) The remaining subsidy which institutions received in respect of their overseas students (estimated at £100 million pa at 1979 prices) was to be progressively withdrawn over the three years 1980/81 to 1982/83. Different fees were to be charged for different subjects of study, to reflect the different costs of a place in

TABLE 2.1

Recommended tuition fees for overseas students, 1979 to 1989

Year		Universities			Advanced Further Ed		Non-advanced FE	
		Arts	Science	Medicine etc	Lab-based	Classroom-based	Lab-based	Classroom-based
		£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1979/80	ug	940	940	940	940	940	520	520
	pg	1,230	1,230	1,230	940	940	-	-
1980/81		2,000	3,000	5,000	3,300	2,400	1,890	1,380
1981/82		2,500	3,600	6,000	3,672	2,649	2,091	1,479
1982/83		2,700	3,600	6,600	3,000	3,000	1,700	1,700
1983/84		2,900	3,800	7,000	3,180	3,180	1,750	1,750
1984/85		3,150	4,150	7,650	3,180	3,180	1,750	1,750
1985/86		3,310	4,350	8,050	3,310	3,310	1,820	1,820
1986/87		3,480	4,570	8,450	3,540	3,540	1,947	1,947
1987/88		3,690	4,840	8,960	3,720	3,720	2,055	2,055
1988/89		3,950	5,180	9,590	4,017	4,017	2,226	2,226
1989/90		4,300	5,700	10,500	5,130	3,870	2,361	2,361
% increase 1980/81 to 1989/90		115	90	110	55	61	25	71

Notes: It is instructive to compare the above increases with the rate of inflation (72 per cent) for the period 1980 to 1989.

In 1989/90, for the first time, recommended fees were set at different levels for AFE students in polytechnics and for those in other institutions. The fees quoted above are those for the polytechnic sector. Recommended fees for AFE outside the polytechnics were set at £4,260 in all disciplines.

various groups of disciplines. Table 2.1 shows recommended fee levels for overseas students since 1979/80.

The quotas introduced in 1977 were lifted since, with the withdrawal of the subsidy, there was no longer any reason to try to limit enrolments. Later it was announced that students from the European Community (because of Britain's obligations under the Treaty of Rome), refugees and reciprocal exchange students were to be exempted and charged the home rate of fee. The establishment of a new bursary scheme for outstanding university research students was also announced. This was the Overseas Research Students' Awards Scheme, ORSAS. (ORSAS was additional to the scholarship support which government already provided to overseas students, principally through the aid programme. By the end of the 1970s some 10,000 students and trainees benefited from various government-funded scholarship schemes - see below, chapter 4 and Appendix B.)

The new policy involved a very considerable rise in fee levels for new overseas students. (Those already on course were not charged full-cost fees.) Fees for for some university students were 430 per cent higher in 1980/81 than in the previous year. In NAFE there were increases in excess of 450 per cent. Table 2.1 shows how overseas student fee levels have increased relative to inflation since 1980.

IIb) The immediate reaction

Until 1979, although rising numbers and concern over the cost of the subsidy had brought overseas students to the attention of successive governments, politically (if not financially) they were never more than a peripheral issue. It had become clear during the run-up to the 1979 election that, whichever party was returned to power, an overhaul of overseas student policy was in the offing but the extent and direction of the change actually imposed surprised most observers. The avowed aim of this radical departure from existing policy was to reduce expenditure. Its immediate effect was to push the overseas student question to the forefront of political and educational debate. For the first time overseas students were seen as a discrete policy issue which had wide-ranging implications at national and international as well as institutional level.

There was widespread debate, and reaction, both domestic and overseas, was almost unanimously critical. The policy was seen as a denial of Britain's commitment to academic internationalism and of her moral obligations to educationally dependent countries, especially those of the developing Commonwealth. A dramatic decline in the enrolment level was forecast. Because it was based on short-term financial considerations, it was argued, the policy took no account of

the substantial political, commercial and educational benefits which Britain gained from overseas students. The failure of the DES and Treasury to consult other interested parties inside or outside Government was also criticised. Policy-making was seen to lack co-ordination and coherence.

Opponents of full-cost fees included Members of Parliament, academics, student organisations like the National Union of students and the UK Council for Overseas Student Affairs (UKCOSA), the business world and Commonwealth and other overseas countries. With the exception of the establishment of ORSAS and the granting of home fees status to European Community students, those on reciprocal exchange schemes and refugees, at first the Government made no concession to the groundswell of hostile opinion. For several years it steadfastly maintained that no modification of policy could be countenanced which involved additional public expenditure. Only in February 1983 were measures taken which partially ameliorated some of the more damaging effects of the 1979 decision. These measures took the form of the "Pym Package" of additional scholarship support for overseas students, named after the then Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Francis Pym. Before going on to examine the contents of this package, however, it will be helpful briefly to outline the process by which Government was persuaded to think again.

III The development of the debate and the Pym Package of 1983

IIIa) Overseas pressure

As Peter Williams has written, it was probably "the weight of overseas opinion" which crucially determined Government's eventual decision to reconsider its overseas student policy [Williams,P., 1984]. The loss of goodwill consequent upon full-cost fees caused considerable damage to Britain's diplomatic and commercial relations overseas. There was widespread international hostility and overseas governments and their representatives took every opportunity to press home their resentment. The largest senders of overseas students to Britain such as Malaysia, Hong Kong and Nigeria were very much to the fore. Malaysia's retaliatory "buy British last" policy, which effectively blacklisted British goods and services, was only the sharpest of many reminders of the damage which had been caused to Britain's international position.

IIIb) Domestic pressure

As was indicated above, domestic criticism of Government policy came from a variety of sources. One of the most influential of the protagonists in the overseas student policy debate was - and is still - a small educational charity, the Overseas Students Trust. Two major volumes published by the Trust in

1981 and 1982 contributed significantly to policy development. These were The Overseas Student Question, a collection of commissioned analytical studies, and A Policy for Overseas Students, which contained a survey of policy alternatives and recommendations for future policy development [Williams,P., ed., 1981 and Williams,P., 1982].

Work on the second document was characterised by close co-operation between the Trust and Government ministers and Departmental officials, especially those of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. (It was the Foreign and Commonwealth Office which bore the brunt of the overseas backlash even though it had played no part in the 1979 decision. This Department did more than any other to secure the reconsideration of policy within Government.) It has been argued that the Trust "succeeded in winning the confidence of Whitehall by the reasonableness of its approach in contrast to what the government regarded as unduly shrill and uninformed comment coming from elsewhere." [Williams,P., 1984] Unlike many other critics of government policy, it did not advocate a return to the previous system of unregulated flows and open-ended general fee subsidy for overseas students. Its more moderate proposals, primarily for increased public expenditure on scholarships targeted towards meeting specific policy objectives, provided government with a means of escape from the corner into which it had painted itself.

IIIc) The Pym Package 1983

By no means all of the Overseas Students Trust's policy recommendations were accepted by government but they did form the basis of the Pym Package. In announcing this compromise solution on 8th February 1983 Mr Pym declared that the government had concluded that it was in the national interest to increase provision to enable overseas students to come to Britain. There could be no return to the previous system of indiscriminate fee subsidy but a sum of £46 million was to be provided, spread over three years, for scholarhips targeted towards meeting specific British priorities. (This was in addition to the estimated £50 million which was already being spent each year on existing scholarship support for overseas students.) £25 million of the £46 million was to be new money; the remaining £21 million was to consist of transfers from the aid budget. The whole of the expenditure was to be channelled through the Foreign and Commonwealth Office diplomatic wing and aid wing (Overseas Development Administration - ODA) budgets.

Increased funding was provided for two existing scholarship schemes, the Technical Co-operation Training Programme (TCTP) and the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan (CSFP) - see below Appendix C. New scholarship programmes were also introduced as follows:

- Country/Territory support schemes The main beneficiaries under these schemes were Hong Kong, Malaysia and Cyprus. Bermuda, the Cayman Islands and certain other dependent territories were also included. The schemes differed in detail but, essentially, they provided awards to cover the difference between the home and overseas rates of fee for first degree students from the countries concerned. As far as possible this support was offered on a cost-sharing basis with the governments of those countries.

- FCO Scholarships and Awards Scheme (FCOSAS) This was a scheme of discretionary awards for students selected on criteria of British national interest, including diplomatic and cultural, business and trade-related objectives. Post-graduate students were to be given preference in the allocation of awards, some of which were to cover only fees, while others also included a contribution towards maintenance costs. Awards were to be tenable by students from a wide range of countries.

In addition to increased expenditure on targeted schemes of scholarship support, the Pym Package also made available an annual sum of £100,000 to the British Council for the promotion of British education overseas.

One final significant aspect of the package was that government accepted that there was a need for effective machinery to co-ordinate policy internally, between the various departments concerned, and to enable government to consult with outside interests. An Inter-departmental Group of officials (IDG) had been convened to co-ordinate work on the Pym Package. This was now established on a permanent basis under joint FCO/DES chairmanship to facilitate review of specific policy issues. A small Scholarships and Awards Section (later re-named the Overseas Students Policy Section) was also set up within the FCO. The wider consultation process was formalised by the establishment of the "Round Table", a forum for periodic discussion between IDG officials and representatives of a wide cross-section of non-governmental interests. The sixth Round Table meeting took place in 1989.

IIId) The implications

Implicit in the Pym Package was an acceptance on the part of government that an error had been made in 1979 and that the political realities demanded a more interventionist stance in the overseas student market place. Overseas student policy could not be based on short-term budgetary considerations alone: account had also to be taken of longer-term factors, of the obligations and benefits involved. The injection of additional funds was contrary to all of government's previous

protestations. The emphasis on selective support reflected acceptance of the argument that there were specific policy objectives to be pursued and the fact that the £46 million was allocated on the FCO rather than on the DES budget clearly indicated that overseas students were now seen as a diplomatic rather than as an educational issue. Finally, the establishment of policy-making and consultative machinery showed government's determination that there should be no repeat of the debacle of 1979/80.

Although the package was more than many lobbyists had either expected or hoped for, it represented less than half of the extra £34 million a year which had been asked for by the Overseas Students Trust. It fell short of the Trust's recommendations in other ways, too. For example, the proposal for concessionary fees status for citizens of dependent territories and possibly other groups of students (along the lines of that enjoyed by European Community students) was rejected. So too were proposals for a Department of Trade-funded scholarship scheme to meet trade-related objectives and for 10 per cent of scholarship funds to be disbursed through the institutions in order to ensure provision for students who would not be picked up under other government schemes.

IV Beyond the Pym Package: Government policy since 1983

Although there have been a number of important developments since the Pym Package, the 1983 announcement was the last major government input into overseas student policy. The package did nothing to alter the fact of full-cost fees. Indeed, it joined with the 1979 decision to form the cornerstone of a government policy which is essentially that there should be no general subsidy of overseas students but that, in accordance with national interests and obligations, a degree of carefully-targeted scholarship support should be made available. (It should be pointed out in this connection that, ever since the package was announced, there has been a tendency in Ministerial and official statements to elide the events of 1979 and 1983 and to suggest that the Pym Package was the culmination of a well-thought-out, deliberate policy of change from indiscriminate to targeted support in which the introduction of full-cost fees was merely the first stage. The facts do not support such a thesis.)

In so far as the Pym Package may be regarded as a damage limitation exercise (as The Economist of 26 February 1983 put it, 'the most embarrassing diplomatic cases are to be given special treatment') it enjoyed a degree of success. It contributed significantly towards defusing hostility towards the British Government, especially overseas. A degree of criticism of British policy has nevertheless continued. The

1983 changes, it is argued, have been only partly successful in ameliorating the ill effects of full-cost fees and there has been widespread questioning of their adequacy as a response to the need for a coherent national policy on overseas students. Parliamentarians (on both Government and Opposition benches) have periodically raised the issue in House of Lords and House of Commons debates (the latest in March 1989) and in Select Committees. Feelings still run high in parts of the Commonwealth and Commonwealth Education Ministers and the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility (which, since 1982, has published six Reports suggesting ways to increase the intra-Commonwealth movement of students) have been prominent advocates of further change. So, too, have been organisations like UKCOSA and the Overseas Students Trust. In 1987, the latter followed up its earlier work with The Next Steps, a further study of British policy which sought to identify gaps and imbalances in British policy and contained recommendations for its future development.

Partly in response to this continued pressure, Government has taken certain steps to improve provision for overseas students. It has increased the level of expenditure on targeted scholarships (from £73 million - supporting 17,400 students and trainees - in 1984/85 to an esstimated £127 million - supporting 24,000 - in 1989/90). Several new scholarship schemes have been established, primarily on the ODA budget. These include the ODA Shared Scholarship Scheme for students from the developing Commonwealth, the Sino-British Friendship Scholarship Scheme and two schemes for disadvantaged South Africans. Most recently, in 1989 the Department of Trade and Industry introduced a modest programme of trade-related awards, the Hands on Training Scheme. Some funds have also been transferred between schemes funded out of the FCO/ODA budgets. (See below, chapter 4 and Appendix B.) The favoured position enjoyed by European Community students relative to those domiciled elsewhere has been further enhanced in recent years. Not only are they entitled to home fees status. Now, as a result of judicial decisions made on grounds of equal opportunity, many EC students are also entitled to have their fees paid out of British public funds. Moreover, Britain's participation in the ERASMUS scheme for the promotion of European student mobility has made it easier still for EC students to come to study in Britain.

Like the Pym Package, developments since 1983 have met with a somewhat mixed response both inside and outside Parliament. Certainly, even the most severe of its critics would concede that the period since 1983 has been marked by a more constructive attitude on the part of Government towards the process of ongoing policy development. But, while there is applause for much of what has been done since the Pym Package,

there is also continued pressure for further change - in terms of, for example, increased overall expenditure, revised priorities in the allocation of awards, greater involvement by the less active Departments of State, improved policy-making and consultative machinery, or the articulation of a more coherent national policy in place of the piecemeal initiatives which are now perceived to exist.

The current state of British Government policy is analysed more fully in chapters 4 and 5. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an examination of institutional policies in the years after full-cost fees, and of the development of the intellectual debate on overseas student policy.

V Developments in institutional policies since 1979

One recent analyst of developments in overseas student affairs in the UK during the 1980s has concluded that, 'within the broad framework established by the government, the administration of foreign student policy in Great Britain rests with the higher educational institutions themselves...', and argues that changes in institutional policy have been 'even more important than government action' [Chandler 1989]. Be this as it may, it was undoubtedly the introduction of full-cost fees which provided the catalyst for those changes.

Before 1980, overseas students were little more than a fact of life. There might be a tendency amongst some staff to see them as a particular welfare 'problem' and by the end of the 1970s there was, certainly, some disquiet in the larger receiving institutions at the very rapid expansion in numbers. Even so, it seems clear that most people in the educational world still subscribed to the vague notion that overseas students were somehow a 'good thing' and that higher education, especially, should be international in character. But only rarely if at all were these sentiments articulated into a positive policy. The institutional approach to overseas students was essentially a passive one: 'let them apply - those whom we choose to have are welcome'.

Va) The financial implications of full-cost fees

The situation changed dramatically with the introduction of full-cost fees. This was, first and foremost, because of the financial impact which the policy had upon the institutions. They lost a large slice of their recurrent income as a result of the phased withdrawal over the three years 1980/81 to 1982/3 of the £100 million subsidy (at 1979 prices) which they had hitherto enjoyed in respect of their overseas students. Income levels could only be maintained if overseas students continued to come to Britain in the same numbers as before and paid for their education at full cost. The basic laws of the market

place into which overseas student enrolment had been plunged suggested that this would be unlikely to happen. Indeed, the sharp fall in enrolments in all sectors in the first few years after full-cost fees were imposed seemed to bear out academics' and administrators' worst fears.

This all took place against a background of severe financial stringency in education. Government spending on higher education was cut by an average 8 per cent in 1981, with some institutions losing more than a quarter of their income. The extra losses resulting from the new overseas student funding arrangements were therefore an especially painful blow. Paradoxically, however, full-cost fees also offered a ray of financial hope to many beleaguered institutions. For those of them which were entitled to retain the fees income, the prospect of supplementing their otherwise steadily dwindling resources by enrolling overseas students at full cost was an attractive one. The result has been that, throughout the 1980s, overseas students have been actively recruited for financial reasons, especially by the universities. (Outside the university sector, in many cases, fees went directly to the local authority so that the financial incentives were not as great. Even so, a growing number of polytechnics in particular joined the entrepreneurial bandwagon during the course of the decade.)

As the source of one of the few upwardly adjustable elements in institutional budgets, then, overseas students have, in the words of the Times Higher Education Supplement, come to be 'taken seriously rather than for granted'. The 1980s saw, for the first time in the case of the vast majority of institutions, steps being taken to develop and articulate policies on the recruitment of overseas students and on academic and pastoral provision for them. Attempts to increase the number of full-cost fee-paying overseas students have manifested themselves in a number of ways. The chief of these has been an upsurge in active recruitment, in the marketing and promoting of the institutions overseas. There has also occurred a fundamental change in attitudes. Institutions can no longer afford to regard overseas students as a guests who are fortunate to benefit from what British education has to offer. Nor can they assume that overseas students will continue to come to the UK in any numbers unless they work to attract them. Full-cost fees have changed the relationship fundamentally. Overseas students have necessarily come to be seen as paying customers, as clients with specific needs which have to be met if the institution is to be competitive in the market place. To varying degrees, therefore, recruitment activity has been paralleled by increased attention to both the academic and the pastoral or welfare requirements of the student.

Vb) Active recruitment

A survey of institutional policies carried out for the Overseas Students Trust in 1985 [Williams G., et al, 1986] showed that there had been a remarkable increase in the level of marketing activity overseas, especially on the part of the universities. Increasingly sophisticated promotional literature, advertising, overseas visits by individual members of staff, organised promotional visits, private placement agencies, links with overseas institutions or alumni - all of these have been used to try to increase student numbers. In some cases consortia of institutions have been formed so as to spread resources and rationalise recruitment activities. The most notable of these is, perhaps, the Northern Consortium which has made arrangements with the Malaysian government to bring a large number of students to Britain.

On a national scale, the British Council, through its overseas representatives, has for some time played an important part in promoting British education overseas. Its role was strengthened by the provision, under the terms of the Pym Package, of £100,000 pa specifically for this purpose. Since 1984, when its Education Counselling Service (ECS) was established, it has been even more active. The ECS provides an enhanced promotional, information and student referral sevice for higher education institutions. In 1989, all but two universities, all polytechnics and some colleges and institutes of higher education and Scottish central institutions participated. The ECS is funded entirely by institutional subscription and annual income is now well in excess of half a million pounds. It began operating in Malaysia, Hong Kong and Singapore but has since expanded to include Brunei, Korea, Japan and Cyprus. Among its other activities, the ECS organises high-profile education fairs and exhibitions overseas. In 1987 a parallel subscription service (the Education Promotion Service - EPS) was opened for institutions offering NAFE and vocational courses and for properly accredited private sector colleges.

One effect of the aggressive marketing activity which has taken place during the 1980s has been to help restore overseas student numbers in the more active university sector to pre-full-cost fees levels (see below, chapter 3). As a result, universities have become increasingly financially dependent on overseas student fees. In 1987/88 they made up 7.7 per cent (£153 million) of general recurrent income in the sector as a whole, compared with 3.3 per cent (£35 million) in 1979/80. In some individual universities over 10 per cent of income now comes from overseas student fees. Forecasts indicate that, for the sector as a whole, the level is expected to increase to more than 9 per cent by 1990/91. It is anticipated that recruitment levels will have to continue to increase significantly (by more than 40 per cent above 1988 levels) if institutions are to balance their budgets.

Vc) Changes in academic provision

Good marketing involves making sure that the product is what the customer really wants. In an attempt to maintain overseas student numbers or to develop new markets many institutions (again particularly the universities) have tailored their courses to the requirements of the students or their sponsors. One of the most obvious requirements is for a reduction in cost (both fees and living expenses). One way to achieve this is to enable the student to spend less time in the UK. As a result there has been a proliferation in the number of short courses, some of them designed specifically for overseas students. For example, there has been an expansion in the number of Junior Year Abroad programmes for students from the USA who spend a year or a semester in this country. At postgraduate level, the number of short diploma courses has increased substantially. There has been a growth, too, in the number of split-site arrangements whereby students spend only a part of their time in the UK, with the remainder being spent in the home country. The Northern Consortium's arrangement with Malaysia (see above) provides for the first year of degree-level study to be undertaken at home, with direct entry on to the second year of the British degree programme. Modular courses and credit transfer arrangements are also becoming increasingly common.

The key concept here is increased flexibility and this is being shown not only in terms of course content and structure but also in terms of entry requirements. Although, in some cases 'flexibility' in this regard is undoubtedly no more than a euphemism for a lowering of entry standards, during the course of the 1980s institutions have become more willing to look carefully and sympathetically at the equivalence of overseas qualifications. There has also been a growth in the number of 'access courses' provided for overseas students whose qualifications are not of a sufficient standard to enable them to enter immediately onto their chosen course. Provision of language and study skills courses has also become more widespread.

Vd) Improvements in welfare provision

Not only have many institutions become more conscious of the need to provide an educational product which will be considered to be value for money by their fee-paying clients; steps have also been taken to improve provision for students' social and welfare needs. For example, in a number of places overseas student advisers have been appointed and orientation programmes to welcome overseas students and to help them adjust are provided. In recognition of the fact that accommodation is a particular problem for overseas students some institutions give priority to them in the allocation of hall of residence or other places. Although such developments can in part be ascribed to altruistic motives, concern with expanding and

retaining market share by ensuring that the satisfied customer passes on a good report of the institution to overseas friends and colleagues has undoubtedly been an influential factor. Even so, despite the best efforts of some institutions, many overseas students still experience difficulties in adjusting to life in the UK. (See, for example, the UKCOSA Manual, published in 1989, which contains, inter alia, sections on the orientation and accommodation needs of overseas students.) Accommodation is an area of particular concern. A recent survey [Overseas Students Trust, 1990] found that problems were widespread and that they were especially acute for students living in London and for those with families.

Ve) 'Responsible recruitment'

It is true that enrolment levels especially in the university sector have been increased as a result of activity such as that described above. It is also the case that, in some institutions, academic and welfare provision for overseas students has been considerably improved. However, the effects of the enforced adoption of commercial attitudes towards overseas students have by no means been entirely beneficial. The financial pressures to recruit undoubtedly resulted in a measure of malpractice by some recruiters who, temporarily at least, succumbed to the temptations of the 'hard sell' and were over-zealous in their efforts to corner a share of the market. Accusations of the use of methods more befitting car salesmen than representatives of UK education have not been entirely unfounded. Newspaper headlines such as 'Standards slashed in overseas race' [THES, 15/2/85] are lent credence by the fact that the proportion of overseas applicants accepted for first degree courses increased from 24 to 37 per cent between 1979 and 1989.

Concern that the academic and welfare needs of individual students have been neglected, together with the desire to restore the tarnished reputation of British education, has led organisations like UKCOSA and the British Council to try to persuade institutional policy-makers to adopt a code of good practice with regard to recruitment and to develop more rounded policies in which overseas students are not treated merely as a source of revenue. A number of such codes have been issued, the latest of which, the British Council's ECS/EPS code, 'Educational institutions and overseas students', was published in 1989. The argument underpinning both this and an earlier code issued by UKCOSA is that:

> 'Whatever an institution's size or level of study, the full value of an international dimension to the programme it offers can only be realized if a commitment has been made to a comprehensive policy, and to consistent and caring practices in the recruitment, reception, education and

> support of its overseas students. In recruiting overseas students, institutions are inviting them to take major steps in their lives with far-reaching consequences. At the same time considerable expense is involved and it is both morally right and sound business practice to provide good value for money.' [British Council, 1989]

The code embraces both the broad principles of policy and specific areas of activity like marketing, information, admissions and support services.

In fact, even before these codes were drawn up some institutions were already beginning to articulate policies on responsible recruitment [Williams, G., et al, 1986]. However, available evidence (the results of a survey reported in the Times Higher Education Supplement, 29/12/89) suggests that the system-wide adoption of policies and practices which embrace the educational as well as the financial rationale for recruiting overseas students is still some way off. To turn once more to our American commentator, Alice Chandler has found that the institutions' 'educational goals have seemed subordinate to their financial needs. Their open commercialism is a manifestation of...the shift from a "classical" internationalism, stressing ideals of mutual understanding, toward a frankly cash-benefit motive.' [Chandler, 1989]

VI Overseas student policy: the development of the debate

The conceptual switch observed in the institutions whereby a somewhat vague internationalism and humanitarian ideals have been superseded by much more pragmatic concerns is also evident at the level of national policy debate. Here, the rationale for the presence of overseas students is now much more clearly defined in terms of British national self-interest than was the case ten years ago. In this wider context, as in the educational world, the chief stimulus for this change has been the imposition of full-cost fees.

VIa) The case for overseas students before 1979/80

In the twenty or so years before 1980 - if it was justified or rationalised at all - provision for overseas students was usually seen either in terms of Britain's obligations to the developing world, particularly the countries of the Commonwealth, or in terms of the promotion of internationalist ideals. Britain's obligation was that of one of the richer nations and of a former colonial power, to provide material aid (in which educational opportunity was a central feature) to erstwhile colonies and to other less developed countries of the world. A related 'duty' was to make available British experience and culture in its broadest sense in order to ensure the 'civilised' development of the newly-independent states. Thus we read in a 1978 report:

'...a well-educated leadership was essential if such countries were to have the opportunity to develop in ways which would embody the best European traditions of Government, and would establish a viable and stable economy. In addition, since many of these new states were members of the British Commonwealth, the UK had a special sense of obligation.' [Reed, B. et al, 1978]

The other main argument in favour of the continued presence of overseas students in the UK was rooted in the tradition of the 'wandering scholar', of scholarly interchange going back to medieval times. In answer to the question, 'Why have foreign students in Britain?', the Higher Education Group in 1980 saw as the first principle that 'the age-old freedom of students and scholars to travel for reasons of study must be upheld... The presence of overseas students in Britain should be regarded first and foremost as part of a world-wide continuing exchange [which is] the first stage in a process which creates and sustains world-wide communities vital to modern life.'

In so far as a central Government view on overseas students could be determined in the 1960s and 1970s (beyond concerns with rising numbers and costs) the scholarship programmes which then existed show that it too was largely predicated upon the twin concepts of obligation and internationalism. The main schemes then in operation were the ODA's Technical Co-operation Training Programme (TCTP), the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan (CSFP), the Commonwealth Bursaries scheme (now discontinued) and the British Council's Scholarships Scheme. Then as now the primary objectives of these schemes were to assist with development aid and/or to help spread British culture overseas and foster mutual understanding. (See below, Appendix B.)

VIb) The impact of full-cost fees

In the opinion of a Times Higher Education Supplement leader writer, before 1979, the justification for the overseas student presence had never been properly addressed except in 'rather soggy and even sentimental' terms [THES, 4/4/86]. It was full-cost fees, according to the same writer, which 'shattered the old consensus' and ensured that 'the case for overseas students has had to be reconstructed from its foundations up':

'The traditional arguments for overseas students were swept aside. They were exposed as an ineffectual defence not just in political but in intellectual terms too...Since 1979 the supporters of overseas students have been forced to devise new kinds of arguments - tough-minded, sharp-edged and thoroughly modern...'

A notable contributor to the process of constructing the pragmatic, realistic case for overseas students was the Overseas Students Trust. With the publication of The Overseas Student Question in 1981, what was now agreed to be a multi-faceted issue was analysed in depth for the first time. A central thesis of the study was that it was necessary to look beyond the financial aspects of the question. In addition to the costs there were important British interests to be considered. The benefits which the Trust identified as being conferred by overseas students (and which were therefore threatened by full-cost fees) were educational, economic and political. There were also obligations and responsibilities, primarily to developing countries and to countries which were educationally dependent on Britain.

The educational benefits in fact received relatively little attention at this stage, but the other aspects of the question were examined in some detail. Economic benefits to Britain were of two main types - short-term benefits to the balance of payments from overseas students' spending in the UK, and longer-term, frequently intangible, unquantifiable benefits to British trade. These latter, the argument ran, accrued because commercial decision-makers overseas were more likely to buy British if they had been educated in Britain and had therefore had experience of British standards and of British goods and services. The political or cultural/diplomatic benefits were also long-term and unquantifiable. Educating future political leaders was seen to be an aspect of Britain's foreign cultural policy which had direct diplomatic benefits in terms of helping to spread British influence overseas and foster goodwill towards this country.

Britain lacked a coherent policy on overseas students which went beyond the examination of the costs involved and which 'identified, protected and promoted long-term British interests'. There was a need to see overseas students as an 'opportunity', as an 'investment in Britain's future' rather than as a tiresome legacy or obligation from the imperial past. Although the overseas student question was multi-faceted, 'involving education, foreign policy and aid, trade, finance and migration', overseas student policy was, the study concluded, 'predominantly an aspect of international relations', an element in foreign policy 'taken at its broadest'.

The issues raised in The Overseas Student Question also found expression in A Policy for Overseas Students, published by the Trust in 1982. Other parts of the lobby took up these arguments enthusiastically. However, it would be wrong to regard the lobby as an homogenous group with a uniform view and both books were criticised in some quarters because of what was considered to be excessive emphasis on British interests. In the harsh

climate of the 1980s, though, such pragmatic, utilitarian ideas were the only ones likely to have any political impact. Indeed, as we have seen, the Trust's work was instrumental in securing the Pym Package which was predicated upon Government's acceptance of arguments based on the long-term diplomatic and commercial interest, as well as of those based on the needs of development aid policy. The Pym Package, as has already been argued, placed overseas student policy firmly in the realm of foreign policy (cultural diplomacy, trade and aid) rather than in that of educational policy.

VIc) The late 1980s debate: economic and educational benefits

The British national interest broadly conceived remains the basis of the rationale for the presence of overseas students in Britain. Government professes to welcome overseas students for a variety of reasons amongst which it includes 'educational' as well as 'developmental, political and commercial'. Many of those in the lobby, however, have argued in recent years that insufficient attention has been paid in Government policy to some parts of the new agenda which they helped to construct. In part, at least, this is because those particular arguments were not developed with sufficient rigour by the lobby itself in the immediate aftermath of full-cost fees. Rehearsal of the case for overseas students in the second half of the decade has therefore involved attempts to refine further those arguments which are considered to be in need of an upward re-rating.

Two benefits in particular which hitherto had received relatively little attention have been urged upon policy-makers in recent years. These are the immediate economic benefits which accrue in terms of the balance of payments from overseas students' spending in the UK and the broad range of educational benefits which are derived from their presence in our educational institutions.

Education, it has been argued, is one of Britain's 'top exporting industries'. The economic benefits have been calculated to amount to about £1 billion a year in invisible earnings if spending by overseas students in the private sector is included [Overseas Students Trust, 1987; British Invisible Exports Council, 1987]. This amount is said to be as much as one sixth of the income generated by the tourist industry as a whole. The economic benefits argument has been adduced in favour of spending more on promoting British education overseas. It has been lent added credence by the fact that in 1988 the University of Reading received the Queen's Award for Export Achievement for, amongst other things, its success in attracting overseas students. The balance of payments argument is yet another example of the hard-nosed pragmatism now being shown by the supporters of overseas students. So far, however, it appears to have had little impact on Government.

The formulation of a rationale in terms of educational benefits has proved more difficult, both for those in higher education and for those in the wider lobby. The Times Higher Education Supplement has long asserted that 'there is an academic dimension to this question, alongside the aid, trade and diplomatic dimension, which is as truly in the national interest' [THES, 4/4/86] but that the arguments in support of the educational benefits have 'been allowed to atrophy' [THES, 10/7/87]. These benefits were highlighted in the Overseas Students Trust's 1987 studies, The Next Steps and Readings in Overseas Student Policy. With UKCOSA and others, the Trust has since continued to work to articulate the educational rationale for overseas students and to bring it to the attention of policy-makers. A jointly-organised symposium held in 1989 contributed much to the intellectual process. A broad range of benefits, from the general contribution to the cultural enrichment of the institution to the role played by overseas students in maintaining Britain's research capability, has been identified [UKCOSA/Overseas Students Trust, 1990].

Government's attitude towards the educational benefits argument remains decidedly lukewarm, however. The DES declined to participate in the symposium, arguing that this was an issue for the institutions. It is reasonable to conclude that, as yet, the concept of educational benefits as a national interest is not being taken seriously by the Department. The institutions, too, have been slow to seize upon a rationale for overseas students which would appear to be of particular relevance to them. The result is that the case for overseas students still rests primarily upon their contribution to Britain's external relations in terms of cultural diplomacy, trade and aid.

* * *

The recent history of overseas student policy in Britain can be characterised as one in which most of the significant developments, both nationally and at institutional level, have stemmed directly or indirectly from the ill-conceived 1979 decision on full-cost fees. Above all else, perhaps, their introduction has served to raise the profile of the overseas student question in political and educational debate. In the words of the Times Higher Education Supplement, overseas students are now being 'taken seriously rather than for granted'. The extent to which this heightened appreciation of their importance has been translated into an effective and coherent national policy is discussed below in chapters 4 and 5. First, however, trends in the enrolment of overseas students in the UK since 1979 are examined.

CHAPTER THREE

Trends in the enrolment of overseas students since 1979

This chapter, together with Appendix A, provides the latest available information on overseas student enrolment in the United Kingdom (mainly for the academic year 1988/89) and compares this with the data for 1979/80, the last year before full-cost fees. The sources and nature of the statistics themselves are described in Appendix A which contains most of the detailed statistical tables. This chapter deals with enrolment trends by: country and country group of origin; sector and level of study; sex; subject of study; and proportions and concentration.

The overall number of overseas students enrolled in British universities, polytechnics and colleges has changed significantly since 1979. Initially, and in marked contrast to the rapid expansion of the 1960s and 1970s, there occurred a sharp decline in enrolment. Between 1979 and 1983, numbers fell overall by 37 per cent from 88,037 to 55,608. Since then, however, beginning with a small increase (just under 500) in 1984, numbers have risen each year, reaching a total of 72,500 in 1988. Overall numbers have therefore recovered to within 18 per cent of the 1979 level. (However, as we shall see, there has occurred a significant redistribution of the overseas student body, for example, by sector and level of study and by country of origin.)

There is clearly a connection between Government policy and trends in enrolment. Full-cost fees and the subsequent increased emphasis on targeted scholarship support have had a significant effect upon enrolment levels and patterns since 1979. Higher fees are undoubtedly the main reason for the fall in demand after 1979, just as the subsequent increase in scholarship provision has had a positive influence on enrolment. However, the extent of the relationship cannot be judged precisely. The analysis of the effects of Government action is complicated by the impact of a number of other factors upon the flow of students.

Economic and political circumstances in sending countries can have a significant effect upon demand for study opportunities overseas, as is shown by the decline in Nigerian and Iranian enrolments during the 1980s (see Table 3.1). Policies in 'competitor' host countries are another influential factor. So too is the recent recruitment drive by British institutions. The sterling exchange rate is another influence: the depreciation of the pound against the dollar during the first half of the 1980s considerably enhanced the competitiveness of British education vis-a-vis the American system; its subsequent

partial recovery will have had the opposite effect. The fall in the value of the currencies of a number of less developed countries has reduced their capacity to send students to Britain. Statistical reclassifications and changes in the definition of an overseas student have also blurred the picture of trends during the 1980s (see Appendix A). All of this needs to be borne in mind during the analysis which follows.

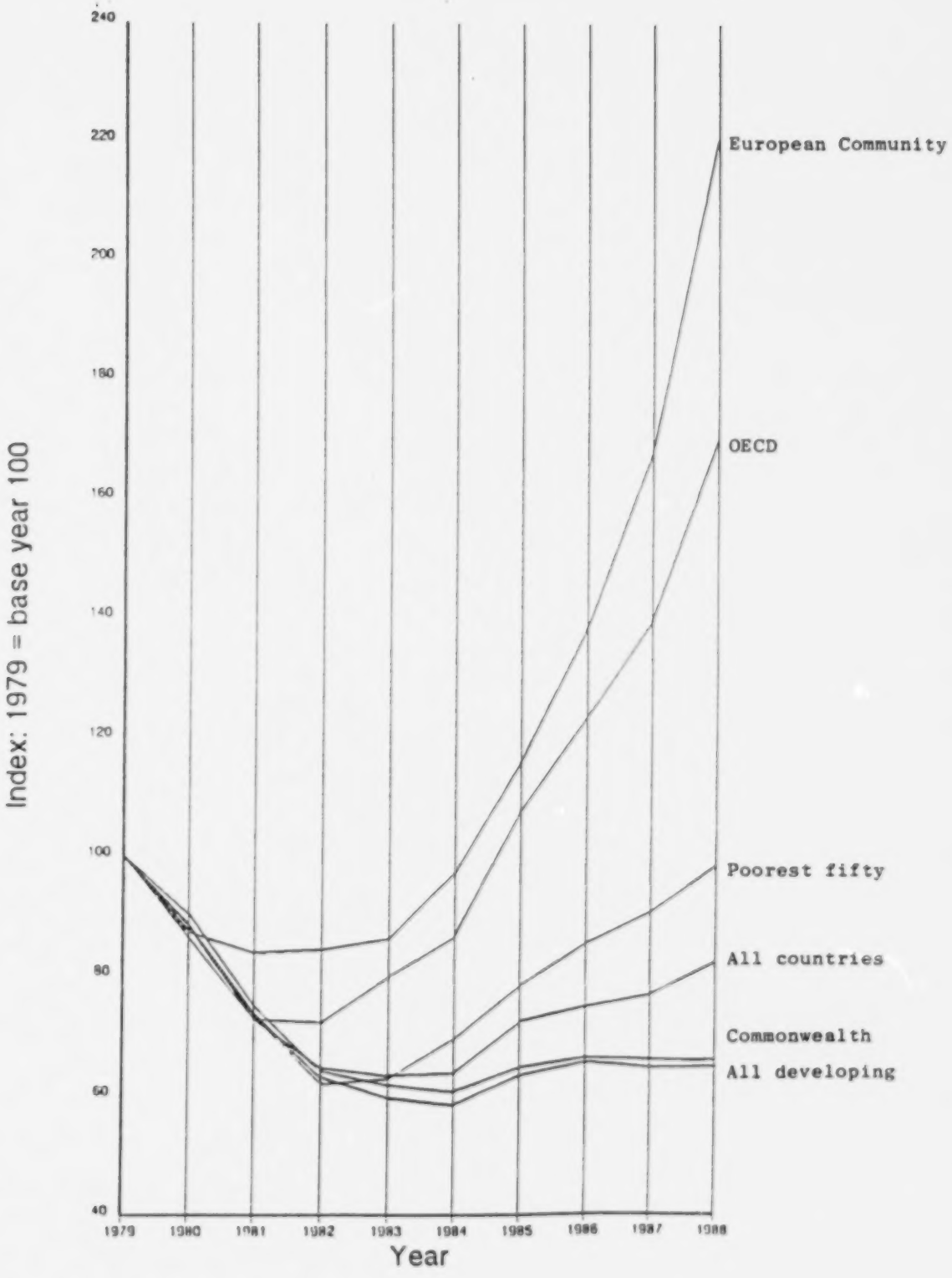
I Countries of origin

Figure 1 in this chapter and Tables A.1 and A.2 in Appendix A show trends in enrolment fron different political and economic groupings of countries. Figure 1 provides an index of enrolment trends from the base year 1979 and illustrates the relative fortunes of the different groups. The most striking feature is the universality of the downward trend from 1979 until about 1982 and, since then, the divergence between the wealthier industrialised countries - members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Community (EC) - and the generality of developing countries including those of the Commonwealth. Between 1979 and 1984, the number of students from the developing world fell by over 30,000, thus continuing and accelerating a trend which had already become apparent during the 1970s. The number of students from the Commonwealth fell by over 18,000 between 1979 and 1984. Enrolment from both of these groups has since stabilised and, indeed, increased slightly but, in both cases, numbers in 1988 were still less than two-thirds of the 1979 level. Enrolment of students from OECD countries and from the European Community was, by contrast, significantly higher in 1988 than in 1979. As the index in Figure 1 and in Table A.1 shows, in the case of EC members and dependencies (whose students do not pay full-cost fees) there were more than twice as many students in 1988 as in 1979. Table A.2, which shows the proportion of the total overseas student population made up by the different categories in 1979, 1984 and 1988 also provides a clear illustration of their relative fortunes. Whereas nearly a quarter (23.1 per cent) of Britain's overseas students came from the European Community in 1988, compared with only 8.6 per cent in 1979, the Commonwealth percentage fell from 52.1 to 41.7 over the same period.

The Commonwealth and developing country groups have not recovered despite the fact that they are the largest beneficiaries under the Government's award schemes. Sixty-eight per cent of awards expenditure went to Commonwealth countries in 1987/88, for example. However, enrolment from the poorest fifty countries has recovered to very nearly the 1979 level. This is in contrast to the generality of developing countries and undoubtedly reflects the particularly heavy concentration of Government-funded awards on this group. For example, the poorest fifty countries now receive some two-thirds of all

Figure 1

An index of overseas students in the UK, 1979 to 1988: changes in enrolment by country groupings



awards provided under the largest single scholarship scheme, the ODA's Technical Co-operation Training Programme. A breakdown of enrolment by continent of origin used very largely to reflect Britain's historical role and interests. In 1979, over half (54 per cent) of all overseas students came from Asia and about one fifth from Africa. Europe and the Americas each accounted for about one tenth of all enrolment. However, by 1988, there had been a marked shift in the distribution by continent. Asia was still the largest sending continent, but accounted for only 43 per cent of all overseas students. Not surprisingly, in view of the large increase in the number of European Community students, Europe, with 29 per cent, had become the second largest source. The proportion of the overseas student population coming from Africa had, by contrast, fallen from 19 per cent to 14 per cent. The proportion coming from the Americas (North and South) had not changed significantly. Only 1.7 per cent (1,255) of all overseas students came from mainland South America in 1988. In the same year, the countries of the Indian Sub-continent provided only 4.6 per cent of the total (3,353 students), despite receiving a relatively high level of scholarship support. The proportions coming from the Sub-continent remained unchanged between 1979 and 1988.

The overseas student body in Britain is still concentrated among a small number of countries of origin. In 1988, when students from 180 countries were enrolled in the UK, over half (50.1 per cent) of the total came from just ten countries. The composition of the top ten group has changed over the last decade. Table 3.1 shows that, of the top ten senders in 1979 only five - Hong Kong, Malaysia, the USA, Greece and Singapore - were still in this group in 1988. The number of students from Iran (-7,261), Nigeria (-3,948), Iraq (-1,564), Zimbabwe (-1,824) and Jordan (-1,219), the five countries which lost their top ten ranking, fell substantially over the period. Other countries to experience large falls were Sri Lanka (-1,048), Venezuela (-714) and Turkey (-592). The country for which the largest fall occurred was Malaysia (-8,274) which, nevertheless remained the second largest sender in 1988. Four of the countries which experienced the largest increases are members of the European Community. These were the Irish Republic (+2,825 students), West Germany (+2,050), France (+2,038) and Spain (+1,008). Two other developed countries enrolment from which increased substantially between 1979 and 1988 were the USA (+1,643) and Norway (+907). The only developing country whose enrolment increased markedly was China (+1,360 students). Since 1987, China has enjoyed the benefits of the Sino-British Friendship scholarship scheme (about 600 awards a year) in addition to awards made under other schemes.

The only country which had a top ten ranking in 1988 but not in 1979 and which experienced a fall in student numbers over the

TABLE 3.1

Numbers of students from top twenty sending countries, 1979 and 1988

	1979		1988		
	Number of Students	Percentage of Total Enrolment		Number of Students	Percentage of Total Enrolment
1. Malaysia	14,739	16.7	1. Hong Kong	7,345	10.1
2. Iran	8,365	9.5	2. Malaysia	6,438	8.9
3. Hong Kong	6,954	7.9	3. USA	5,228	7.2
4. Nigeria	5,263	5.9	4. Irish Republic	3,535	4.9
5. USA	3,585	4.1	5. Germany, FR	3,235	4.5
6. Greece	3,029	3.4	6. Greece	2,820	3.9
7. Iraq	2,487	2.8	7. France	2,633	3.6
8. Zimbabwe	2,254	2.6	8. Singapore	2,040	2.8
9. Singapore	1,841	2.1	9. Cyprus	1,547	2.1
10. Jordan	1,739	2.0	10. China	1,533	2.1
11. Sri Lanka	1,673	1.9	11. Norway	1,485	2.0
12. Cyprus	1,655	1.9	12. Nigeria	1,315	1.8
13. Turkey	1,274	1.5	13. Kenya	1,285	1.8
14. India	1,200	1.4	14. Spain	1,266	1.7
15. Kenya	1,199	1.4	15. Pakistan	1,240	1.7
16. Germany, FR	1,185	1.3	16. Iran	1,104	1.5
17. Sudan	958	1.1	17. India	1,096	1.5
18. Pakistan	941	1.1	18. Japan	1,036	1.4
19. Canada	934	1.1	19. Canada	1,028	1.4
20. Libya	928	1.1	20. Iraq	923	1.3
Total, top 10 senders	50,256	57.1	Total, top 10 senders	36,354	50.1
Total, top 20 senders	62,203	70.7	Total, top 20 senders	48,132	66.4
Total, all countries	88,037	100.0	Total, all countries	72,500	100.0

Source: British Council, DES, Northern Ireland Education Dept.

period was Cyprus. However, the fall in the number of Cypriots was relatively small (108). Cyprus, Malaysia and Hong Kong, the largest sender in 1988, have all traditionally relied heavily upon access to British educational facilities and all three have been the principal beneficiaries under the country-specific schemes of support established under the Pym Package. In 1987/88 almost one third of all scholarship funding on the FCO diplomatic wing vote was devoted to these schemes which provided over 3,000 awards.

It is not just the largest senders or those which have experienced the largest increases or falls in enrolment, however, which are of interest or of importance from the point of view of British policy. There is a continuing decline in the number of students coming from smaller, educationally dependent countries. These include a number of island states whose scale is such that they cannot hope to operate viable tertiary education systems of their own (see Appendix A, Table A.6).

II Sector and level of study

Changes in enrolment have varied considerably in the different sectors and at different levels of study, resulting in a marked shift in the balance between universities, polytechnics and colleges and between advanced and non-advanced courses (see Table 3.2). These changes can usefully be analysed in two phases: the period 1979 to 1984 and the period 1984 to 1988.

Although enrolment fell throughout the system between 1979 and 1984, the decline was markedly greater in some sectors and at some levels than in others. The greatest fall by far was in non-advanced further education. The number in NAFE was 19,101 or 71 per cent lower by 1984. The balance between AFE and NAFE changed in consequence, with higher education accounting for 86 per cent of all overseas students in 1984, compared with 70 per cent in 1979. Numbers also fell substantially in public (non-university) sector advanced further education, by 7,733, or 36 per cent. The picture in the universities was very different. In this sector the number of overseas students was 5,082, or 13 per cent, lower in 1984 but by then the downward trend had already been halted: numbers increased by 1,500 between 1983 and 1984. It was at postgraduate level that university enrolment was strongest, having recovered to within 450, or 2 per cent, of the 1979 total by 1984. By 1984, university postgraduates were the largest single category within the overseas student body, making up 32 per cent of the total. The university share of the overseas student market increased from 46 per cent to 62 per cent between 1979 and 1984.

Developments since 1984 have confirmed the shift away from NAFE towards higher education and especially towards the university sector. University enrolments continued to increase after 1984

TABLE 3.2

Overseas students in the UK by sector and level of study, 1979 to 1988

Sector/ level of study	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	% change 1979 to 1988	% change 1987 to 1988
Universities												
1. Post-graduate	18,433 (21)	17,445 (22)	16,431 (26)	16,233 (29)	17,044 (31)	17,998 (32)	20,302 (32)	21,632 (33)	22,161 (33)	23,277 (32)	+26.3	+5.0
2. Under-graduate	21,578 (25)	20,538 (26)	17,505 (27)	16,661 (29)	16,464 (30)	16,931 (30)	19,148 ((30)	21,332 (32)	23,394 (35)	25,834 (36)	+19.7	+10.4
3. Total universities (1+2)	40,011 (46)	37,983 (48)	33,936 (53)	32,894 (58)	33,508 (61)	34,929 (62)	39,450 (62)	42,964 (65)	45,555 (67)	49,111 (68)	+22.7	+7.8
4. Other advanced FE	21,313 (24)	19,998 (26)	18,924 (30)	15,555 (27)	14,154 (25)	13,580 (24)	13,988 (22)	14,446 (22)	14,861 (22)	15,988 (22)	-25.0	+7.6
5. Total higher education (3+4)	61,324 (70)	57,981 (74)	52,860 (83)	48,449 (85)	47,662 (86)	48,509 (86)	53,438 (84)	57,410 (87)	60,416 (89)	65,099 (90)	+6.2	+7.8
6. Non-advanced FE	26,713 (30)	19,649 (26)	11,211 (17)	8,216 (15)	7,946 (14)	7,612 (14)	10,084 (16)	8,488 (13)	7,333 (11)	7,401 (10)	-72.3	+0.9
7. Grand Total (5+6)	88,037 (100)	77,630 (100)	64,071 (100)	56,665 (100)	55,608 (100)	56,121 (100)	63,522 (100)	65,898 (100)	67,749 (100)	72,500 (100)	-17.6	+7.0

Source: British Council, DES, Northern Ireland Education Dept.

Figures in brackets denote percentage of Grand Total. Because of rounding, percentages do not always add up to 100%

Figures for non-advanced further education for 1985 and subsequent years include students on courses leading to unspecified qualifications. Such students are not included in the statistics for the period 1979 to 1984.

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and were actually 23 per cent higher in 1988 than in 1979. University students made up 68 per cent of the overseas student population in 1988. However, overseas undergraduates in universities have overtaken postgraduates as the largest single group. There were 25,834 overseas undergraduates in 1988. They accounted for 36 per cent of the total overseas student body. Although numbers in AFE increased by 2,408 between 1984 and 1988, AFE enrolments remained 25 per cent below the 1979 level. After a temporary revival in 1985 and 1986 (which may be accounted for by a statistical reclassification - see Table 3.2), numbers in NAFE fell still further in 1987. In 1988 NAFE students made up only 10 per cent of the total population. This compares with a figure of 30 per cent in 1979.

Table 3.2 shows the percentage change in enrolment between 1987 and 1988. There was an increase at all levels of study but the largest increase (10.4 per cent) was among university undergraduates; the smallest (0.9 per cent) was in NAFE. The movement towards higher level study was therefore continued in 1988. An indication of likely patterns of enrolment beyond 1988 is also provided by Tables A.3 and A.4 in Appendix A. Respectively, these contain data showing first year enrolment of overseas students at all levels of study and overseas applications for university first degree courses. The first year enrolment figures in Table A.3 (for the period 1979 to 1987 only) suggest that existing trends have probably continued, with a further drop in the number of overseas students in NAFE and with further increases (but perhaps smaller than those in the immediate past) in the universities and in AFE.

The more up-to-date UCCA figures in Table A.4 show, by contrast, that the steady rise in the number of overseas applicants for university undergraduate places which was evident between 1982 and 1988 was halted in 1989, when the number of applicants fell by 2,348. It is possible, therefore, that the university undergraduate market has peaked. However, despite the fall in the number of applicants, the number of overseas applicants accepted by universities in 1989 was greater than ever before. Overseas applicants were considerably more likely to be accepted in 1989 (36.8 per cent) than in 1979 (23.9 per cent). It is legitimate, therefore, to pose the question: have entry standards been lowered over the period?

In the universities between 1979 and 1986 there was an increase at postgraduate level in the proportion of places filled by first year students. This is indicative of the fact that, during the mid-1980s, there was a switch away from research degrees towards shorter taught master's degree and diploma courses. At undergraduate level, too, although the majority of overseas students enrol on traditional first degree programmes, there was a growth in the number taking short, non-diploma

courses. Concern at the cost of study in Britain no doubt accounted in part for this increased emphasis on shorter courses. However, at postgraduate level, the trend away from research and towards taught couses has been halted. Universities Statistical Record figures show that, in 1988, 49 per cent of overseas postgraduates were enrolled on research degrees. This compares with figures of 46 per cent in 1984 and 51 per cent in 1979.

One of the reasons for the overall shift in balance from public sector and, in particular, lower level study towards university study has been the growth to maturity in many developing countries of indigenous educational institutions. Their erstwhile reliance on Britain for the technical andd vocational opportunities afforded by NAFE institutions is therefore no longer as great as it used to be. In many cases public sector institutions have also had less financial incentive to recruit than universities since they did not retain the fee income which went direct to the local authority. (However, as a result of the new funding arrangements described in chapter one, this latter disincentive has been removed.) It should also be remembered that public sector institutions have been disadvantaged in the race to recruit overseas students because of their difficulty in projecting a high profile abroad. Government policy on the allocation of scholarships has also reinforced the trend towards higher-level study. In 1984/85, the last year for which a detailed breakdown of the allocation of awards by level of study is available, the majority of awards were held by postgraduate students. University undergraduates and other AFE students accounted for most of the remainder. Only a tiny proportion went to students in NAFE. There has been no change of policy on the allocation of awards since 1984/85.

III Men and women overseas students

The proportion of women in the overseas student body increased significantly between 1979 and 1988. In 1979 less than a quarter (24 per cent) of all overseas students were women. By 1984 the proportion was 28 per cent and by 1988, 34 per cent. In the universities in 1988, 41 per cent of overseas undergraduates were women but only 27 per cent of postgraduates. The figures for public sector AFE and NAFE were 36 per cent and 39 per cent, respectively. The increase in the number and proportion of women overseas students can be accounted for in part by the changing balance of the overseas student body in terms of countries of origin. The switch to European and other developed countries, where more women tend to go on to higher education than in many other parts of the world, has undoubtedly contributed to changes in the male/female balance.

IV Subject of study

The distribution of overseas students by subject of study is uneven. Although more up-to-date figures are available for the universities, the latest data on subject of study for the whole of higher and further education are for 1986. As table A.5 shows, in that year, as in 1979, overseas students were concentrated in three subject areas. In rank order these were: engineering and technology; social, administrative and business studies; and science. These three groups accounted for nearly two-thirds of all overseas students in 1986. Over half were in the engineering and social studies groups alone. The proportion on social studies courses increased from 18 per cent to 25 per cent between 1979 and 1986. In the universities, the proportion in this group increased even more, from 18 to 27 per cent. By contrast, there was a fall in the proportions in engineering (down from 30 to 23 per cent) and in science (down from 21 to 17 per cent). In part, at least, this reflects the fact that overseas student fees for science and engineering have been higher than those for courses in the social, administrative and business studies group. In public sector AFE, where the same fees were charged for both laboratory- and classroom-based courses between 1982 and 1988, there has not been a corresponding switch from science and engineering to social studies.

V Proportions and concentration

Between 1979 and 1984, the overseas proportion of the total student body fell in all sectors and levels of higher and further education (see Table 3.3). Not surprisingly, in view of the different patterns of enrolment by sector and level of study seen above, the decrease in the universities was markedly smaller than that in the public sector. By 1988, at 14.9 per cent, the proportion of overseas students in the universities was actually higher than in 1979 when it stood at 12.8 per cent. At postgraduate level, 40.5 per cent of all students were from overseas in 1988.

The percentage of overseas students in the overall student population varies considerably when it comes to particular subjects and particular institutions. In 1988, when 9.3 per cent of all university undergraduates were from overseas, 15 per cent of engineering students were from abroad. Proportion were as low as 4 per cent in other subjects. At postgraduate level there were particularly heavy concentrations in agriculture, engineering, languages, architecture and social, administrative and business stiudies. Over half of all postgraduates in all of these groups came from overseas in 1988. In individual universities in 1988, the proportion of undergraduate students coming from overseas ranged from 2 per cent in Lampeter to 20 per cent in Kent. At postgraduate level

TABLE 3.3

Overseas students as a proportion of the total student population, by sector and level of study, 1979 to 1988

	1979	1984	1988*
Universities	12.8%	11.5%	14.9%
Undergraduates	8.3%	7.0%	9.3%
Postgraduates	36.3%	36.2%	40.5%
Non-university institutions	9.2%	3.3%	3.2%
Advanced FE	10.4%	5.1%	4.9%
Non-advanced FE	8.5%	2.0%	1.9%

Source: Universities Statistical Record, DES

Note: 1988 data for the non-university sector were not available at the time of writing. Figures for 1987 have been substituted.

the range was even greater: from 15 per cent at Queen's Belfast to 67 per cent at Salford. At the level of the individual course, when the effects of distribution by sector and level of study, institution and subject are all combined, the degree of concentration varies enormously. Some courses have very few or even no overseas students. On others the entire roll is made up by students from abroad. Such courses are often those which institutions have recently developed to meet the specific needs of overseas students or their sponsors in an attempt to increase their share of the overseas market.

* * *

The preceding analysis and the tables upon which it is based highlight the importance of examining not just overall trends in overseas student numbers but also the changes which have occurred in patterns of enrolment in Britain since 1979. It is true, as Government Ministers argue, that, after the initial dramatic fall in numbers which followed the introduction of full-cost fees, the enrolment level is now recovering. However, it is necessary to look beyond the overall number of overseas students and to examine how the balance and distribution of the overseas student population has changed. It is only when

developments like the switch from developing towards developed countries or from lower- to higher-level study are taken into account that the impact of Government policy can be put into proper perspective.

CHAPTER FOUR

Britain's overseas student policy in 1990: the facts

This chapter is devoted to an examination of the components of British Government policy - those elements which, for practical purposes, form the framework within which the situation of overseas students today must be viewed. As was argued above (chapter 2), the Government line on overseas students has not changed fundamentally since the introduction of the Pym Package in 1983. The working principles of its position have been articulated on several occasions since then and may be summarised as follows:

(i) for a variety of reasons - educational, political, commercial and developmental - Britain welcomes overseas students;

(ii) in general, their education should not be subsidised by the British tax-payer;

(iii) however, in accordance with perceived national priorities, carefully targeted awards should be made available to selected individuals and categories of students from abroad.

The practical and financial basis of national policy on overseas students, then, is provided by full-cost fees and targeted scholarship support.

I Overseas student fees

Beyond its fundamental insistence that their education should not be subsidised out of public funds, Government claims no longer to be responsible for overseas students' fees. It has for some time argued that the determination of fee levels is a matter for the institutions and local authorities themselves. Nevertheless, even though Government is technically not involved, for now at least, recommended fee levels are still issued centrally each year by the appropriate sectoral bodies. (For the universities and polytechnics, these are now the Committee of Vice Chancellors and the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics - the CVCP and the CDP. For those institutions still under local authority direction, it is the Council of Local Education Authorities.)

Over the years, most institutions appear to have adhered to the fee levels recommended by these bodies rather than to have set their own fees. (This was certainly the case in 1985, when a survey of institutional policies was carried out for the Overseas Students Trust [Williams, G., et al, 1986].) However,

there is evidence that many universities and polytechnics have begun to experiment with price levels which are more directly related to their actual costs or to their perceptions of what their overseas student market will bear. In issuing recommendations for universities for 1988/89, the UGC (which was the body responsible before the CVCP took over in 1989/90) stressed that:

> 'each institution should assess its costs and charge fees appropriate to its own financial circumstances and academic interests, taking account of the Government's policy that overseas students or their sponsors should pay the full cost of their education and the Government's desire that universities should seek to increase their income from non-public sources.'

The implicit assumption here was that any deviation from the recommendations would be towards higher rather than lower fee levels. However, university practice has not always reflected this assumption. A survey carried out by the Times Higher Education Supplement at the end of 1989 [THES 29/12/89] showed that 'only a handful of universities' had followed the CVCP's recommendations for 1989/90. None of the polytechnics in the newspaper's sample had followed the CDP's guidelines. (For recommended fee levels see Table 2.1 in chapter 2.) In both sectors, there were now 'wildly different prices for courses'. Some institutions had set fees significantly above the recommended level but others had cut prices. Some universities had broken away from the broad subject bands (eg, arts, sciences) which formed the basis of the sectoral bodies' recommendations and were charging different fees for individual courses within the same faculty. In the past, institutions and Government have been urged to adopt marginal rather than average cost as the basis for calculating overseas student fees. [Williams, P., 1982; Fielden and Dalrymple, 1987] There are indications that some institutions may now be moving slowly in the direction of marginal costing as a basis for accounting. Others, however, confident of the popularity of their courses and of their ability to maintain market share, appear to be setting premium fees above the level of full average cost.

To speak, as does the THES, of a 'price war' may be to over-dramatise the present situation but these developments probably do signal the end of centrally co-ordinated fee levels. At present, the primary motive for such experimentation with fees would appear to be the desire to maximise revenue. It is possible, however, that institutions will in future also see fees as an instrument which can help them to realise wider social and academic objectives such as achieving a balance between home and overseas students or an appropriate mix and distribution of the latter by faculty or department.

A particular requirement of the full-cost fees policy (which will remain necessary for as long as home students' education continues to be subsidised) is that there should exist the means by which home and overseas students can be differentiated for the purpose of fees status. Government may no longer be involved in setting the level of fees but it does retain responsibility for the rules which govern who is and who is not to be treated as an overseas student for fees purposes. Although it has subsequently been amended in some regards, the legislative basis for the administrative procedures involved remains the Education (Fees and Awards) Act of 1983. The rules are complex and revolve around the concept of 'ordinary residence'. (For an authoritative guide to the legislation and the way in which it is implemented see The UKCOSA Manual, 1989.) In essence, to qualify for home fees status, a person must have been ordinarily resident in the UK for three years for purposes other than education. Exceptions to this general rule, of course, are refugees, reciprocal exchange students and - by far the most significant group of exempted students - those from the European Community, all of whom continue to pay fees at the home student rate.

II Targeted scholarship schemes: the system of support

In the financial year 1984/85 just over 17,400 overseas students and trainees were in receipt of Government-funded scholarships. Total expenditure on targeted award schemes stood at £73 million. Of this, £17 million was support provided under the Pym Package. Although the package no longer exists as a separately identifiable item within departmental budgets, the additional funding which it represented has been continued. Indeed, the overall level of scholarship expenditure has increased significantly in real terms in recent years (see Table 4.1). In 1989/90, nearly 24,000 students and trainees were supported at a cost of almost £127 million. Much of the increase is accounted for by reallocations within the aid budget, with increased emphasis on project-related training through the Overseas Development Administration's (ODA's) Technical Co-operation Training Programme (TCTP).

Scholarship funds are disbursed through a wide range of award schemes. These are listed in Table 4.2 and described more fully in Appendix B. It has more than once been suggested that the present large number of schemes should be rationalised and replaced by a unified 'British Government Scholarship Scheme'. Such suggestions have been rejected and Government has made clear that, although the situation will be kept under review, a range of award schemes should continue to exist. The present multiplicity of programmes reflects the multi-faceted nature of the overseas student question and the division of financial responsibilities amongst several departments of state. Before 1983, scholarship support was provided primarily as part of the

aid programme. In so far as they were considered at all, other policy objectives were largely held to be catered for by those overseas students who came in large numbers under their own steam. Since 1983 Government has sought to achieve explicitly, through targeted scholarship support, what used to be achieved implicitly under the subsidised fees regime. The targeting of support in this way is intended by Government to facilitate coverage of the full range of objectives of overseas student policy (political/diplomatic, commercial, developmental and educational). Taken together, the schemes are meant not only to boost the overall size of the overseas student body but also to influence its mix and distribution so as to offset imbalances and distortions which a completely free market would produce.

Table 4.1

British Government award schemes 1984/85 to 1989/90

	Expenditure (£m)	Number of awards
1984/85	72.40	17,400
1985/86	79.65	17,918
1986/87	89.43	19,317
1987/88	98.70	21,278
1988/89	110.55	22,828
1989/90 (est.)	126.94	23,993

Source: Interdepartmental Group: Internal Review of the British Government...Award Schemes, 1985;
Overseas Development Administration: Into the Nineties: an Education Policy for British Aid, 1990.

The underlying rationale of both the TCTP and ODASSS is developmental. The ORS Awards Scheme was introduced for the specific purpose of boosting the research capacity of British universities. The FCO's SAS is intended to 'win friends and influence people' who are likely to achieve political and commercial prominence overseas. The British Council's Fellowships programme is likewise intended to foster goodwill towards Britain. The Hands on Training Scheme was set up by the

TABLE 4.2

British Government-funded award schemes 1989/90 (estimates)

Scheme	Date Established	Funding Department	1989/90 Budget (£m)	1989/90 Students/ trainees
British Council Fellowships	1937*	British Council	4.70	1,750
Fulbright Scholarships	1948	DES	0.30	44
CBI Scholarships	1950	DTI	0.22	84
Marshall Scholarships	1953	FCO	0.87	70
CSFP	1959	FCO/ODA	10.96	970
TCTP	1960*	ODA	81.00	13,000
ORSAS	1980	DES	6.20	1,900
FCOSAS	1983	FCO/ODA	13.62/	2,310
Country/Territory Support Schemes	1983	FCO/ODA	3.79	2,700
ODASSS	1986	ODA	1.68	250
Nassau Fellowships	1986	ODA	0.65	120
British Undergraduate Fellowships	1987	ODA	2.00	150
Sino-British Friendship Scheme	1987	ODA	0.70	620
Hands on Training Scheme	1989	DTI	0.25	25
TOTAL			126.94	23,9993

Source: Interdepartmental Group: Internal Review of the British Government...Award Schemes, 1985; Overseas Development Administration: Into the Nineties: an Education Policy for British Aid, 1990.

Notes:

* The British Council Fellowships and Senior Fellowships were introduced in 1985 to succeed the former British Council Scholarships Scheme introduced in 1937; the TCTP grew out of a programme of development assistance established after 1945 and has largely been in its present form since 1960.

/ Of the £13.62m spent on the FCOSAS, £5.8m was expenditure on the ODA vote.

Abbreviations used in text:

CSFP: Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan
TCTP: Technical Co-operation Training Programme
ORSAS: Overseas Research Students Awards Scheme
FCOSAS: Foreign and Commonwealth Office Scholarships and Awards Scheme
ODASSS: Overseas Development Administration Shared Scholarship Scheme

Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) to help achieve trade-related objectives. Other schemes are targeted towards countries of particular interest or with whom Britain has a special relationship. These include the country/territory fee support schemes (Cyprus, Malaysia, Hong Kong and certain other dependencies), the Nassau Fellowships and British Undergraduates Fellowships (both South Africa), the Marshall and Fulbright schemes (both USA) and the Sino-British Friendship Scheme. The CSFP, as its name implies, is aimed specifically at Commonwealth scholars.

As Table 4.2 shows, by far the major part (over 90 per cent) of scholarship funds come from the FCO, either on the diplomatic wing vote or on the aid (ODA) vote. The Department of Education and Science (DES) contributed 5.1 per cent and the DTI less than half of one per cent of expenditure in 1989/90. A high proportion (68 per cent in 1987/88) of all awards goes to Commonwealth countries and over four fifths of all expenditure is devoted to the Third World. This is channelled principally through the TCTP, by far the largest single scheme, with 13,000 awards made in 1989/90. Two thirds of TCTP expenditure goes to the world's poorest fifty countries. A similar proportion goes to countries of the developing Commonwealth (many of which are, of course, in the poorest fifty group). Up-to-date figures giving a detailed breakdown of award holders by level of study or type of institution attended are not available. However, statistics for 1984/85 [Interdapartmental Group, 1985] showed that the majority by far were held by university postgraduates. There has been no change in policy since then with regard to the allocation of awards by sector or level of study.

A number of schemes, including the TCTP, operate on a Government-to-Government basis whereby award-holders are nominees of the overseas authorities. Where selection is in the hands of the British authorities, as in the case of the FCOSAS, this is usually carried out overseas by diplomatic representatives or, on occasion, by British Council officers. The British Council also has a wider function vis-a-vis the administration in the UK of several award schemes. In this respect it acts as an agent for the FCO and especially the ODA through its Fellows and Scholars and Technical Co-operation and Training departments.

Recently, a number of changes have been announced with regard to the structure and operation of this system of scholarship support. The introduction of new schemes (the DTI scheme and programmes for Chinese and black South African students) has already been mentioned. The ODA has also announced that by 1990/91 the number of CSFP awards will have been increased by 100 from the 1988/89 level of 950. (It should be pointed out, however, that even the increased level of CSFP awards proposed for 1990/91 will be significantly lower than the level

pertaining in 1984/85 when 1,250 awards were made.) Other significant developments include:

- the transfer of some ODA funds for distribution through the FCOSAS;
- the phasing out of the country/territory support schemes and the reallocation of funds to the FCOSAS;
- the increased emphasis on the joint funding of awards with private industry, charities and educational institutions.

The proposed transfer of ODA funds to the diplomatic wing FCOSAS was discussed at some length by Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee in 1989. Some £7.4 million is to be transferred in this way over the period 1989 to 1991. The Government has made it clear [Interdepartmental Group, 1985] that its policy is 'to take account of political and commercial factors when making decisions on aid'. However, members of the Committee were fearful that this overt transfer would lead to political and commercial objectives (which underpin the FCOSAS) playing a preponderant role in the allocation of funds which were voted for development aid purposes. When questioned, FCO and ODA officials argued as follows:

- there would be no reduction in expenditure on development assistance - this was merely a way of deploying aid funds differently;
- all ODA monies thus transferred would be allocated to developing countries agreed with ODA;
- although political and commercial objectives would play a part in decisions on the selection of award holders the development needs of the country would also be borne in mind;
- the allocation of some ODA funds through the FCOSAS gave the British Government a greater say in selection than could be achieved through Government to Government schemes like the TCTP where award holders were nominees of the recipient country.

It is not clear how far members of the Committee were convinced by these arguments.

The fee support schemes for Cyprus, Malaysia, Hong Kong and certain other dependent territories were introduced in 1983 in an attempt to alleviate some of the most serious effects on Britain's overseas relationships of the full-cost fees decision. By 1989 the adverse diplomatic and commercial consequences of that decision were, however, no longer being felt as keenly. With the exception of that for Hong Kong (which dependency is still, for other reasons, a source of diplomatic embarrassment) the fee support schemes are therefore being phased out. That for Cyprus ends in 1990 and that for Malaysia in 1993. The Governments concerned have been consulted and have

agreed that the schemes should end and the funds reallocated through the FCOSAS.

Officials point out that this means that monies which were formerly disbursed on indiscriminate fee subsidy for students selected by the recipient governments will henceforth be used more selectively, with the students being chosen by representatives of the British Government. It is also acknowledged that, while overall expenditure will not be reduced, there is likely to be a reduction in the number of students supported. This is because individual awards made under the SAS are worth more than those made under the country schemes which cover only a part of students' fees. One further likely important effect of this transfer of funds remains unspoken, however. Government has indicated that, initially at least, all of the funds disbursed through fee support schemes will be reallocated to the countries concerned through the FCOSAS. But, because the level of scholarship funds allocated to individual countries under the SAS is not announced publicly (whereas the sums provided under the fee support schemes are publicly committed to the countries concerned), it will be possible in future to use these monies more flexibly within the global FCOSAS budget. As circumstances change, some funds could be diverted to other countries without too much fear of an untoward diplomatic reaction. It was partly for this reason that the Overseas Students Trust has recently recommended such a switch of diplomatic wing resources [Overseas Students Trust, 1987].

These two developments, the transfer of ODA funds and the phasing out of the country fee support schemes, will boost even further the size and importance of the already rapidly growing FCOSAS. In 1984/85, its budget was just £3 million. By 1989/90, it was the second largest scheme (only the TCTP was larger) with a budget of £13.62 million. This is projected to increase to over £20 million over the two years following. Diplomatic wing expenditure as a whole is forecast to increase to £27.5 million by 1991/92. Although the transfer of funds from ODA has caused disquiet in some quarters, the growth of the FCOSAS is widely regarded as being a positive development. It is the most flexible of the Government's scholarship programmes and probably the one which provides the most precise instrument of overseas student policy. It operates world-wide, and budgets can be switched between countries in accordance with the policy priorities of the day. Candidates are individually selected by overseas representatives and varying levels of award can be made to match different individual circumstances. The FCOSAS is also the scheme where most has been achieved in terms of the third major change listed above: the establishment of joint initiatives with non-government sources of funding.

Joint funding of scholarships is seen to make good sense because scarce public funds are thereby spread further. Government has been urged on various occasions to do more to attract non-government funds - from industry, from the educational institutions, from voluntary agencies and charitable foundations and from the churches, for example - and it is clear that some Departments of State at least are now working to increase resources in this way. The DTI's new Hands on Training Scheme is funded on a 50:50 cost sharing basis with British industry. The ODA's Shared Scholarship Scheme established in 1986 is partly funded by the universities and polytechnics. However, it is within the FCO's diplomatic wing that the greatest initiative in attracting outside money is being shown. By 1989, over 150 SAS scholarships were jointly-funded. In each case Government money is supplemented by funds from one or more outside sources. The classic format is held to be a tripartite arrangement involving Government, an educational institution and an industrial concern or charitable foundation but many awards are funded under bilateral agreements. The overall number of such arrangements is still small, of course, but continued expansion is planned by the FCO which has recently appointed an official whose duties specifically include the development of joint funding initiatives. It is widely held that there is considerable scope for greater activity of this kind by all Departments.

* * *

As this study clearly shows, since the withdrawal of the subsidy in 1980, beginning with the Pym Package in 1983, the level of Government provision for overseas student support has increased substantially. However, although the level of expenditure and the number of awards have been increased and although minor modifications have been made to the system, with new schemes being introduced and with increased emphasis on others (like the FCOSAS), in terms of the basic components of policy, the situation in 1990 is no different from that in 1983. The broad parameters of Government policy towards overseas students are now well defined. Full-cost fees and targeted scholarship schemes form the framework within the situation of overseas students in Britain must be viewed and will probably continue to do so for the foreseeable future. The final chapter goes on to assess how far Government's approach is successful and how far it may be said actually to constitute a policy.

CHAPTER FIVE

Britain's Overseas Student Policy in 1990: a critique

This chapter presents the author's own view of current British Policy and practice towards overseas students. As such, it does not necessarily represent the views of the Commonwealth Secretariat. It begins with a brief examination of the relative merits of, on the one hand, a system of general subsidy such as existed until 1980, and, on the other, a system of market forces (full-cost fees) tempered by targeted scholarships such as we have in Britain today. It goes on to examine gaps and imbalances in the present system of support. Next, it takes up the more fundamental question of how far the components of the present British approach may be said actually to constitute a coherent policy. Finally, it attempts briefly to forecast future developments and to assess the likely impact on the situation of overseas students of recent or impending changes in UK higher education and on the international front.

I General subsidy or full fees and targeted scholarships?

Any discussion of the form which expenditure of public funds on overseas students should take begins from the basic premise that we want such students to come to Britain in order to meet various objectives - educational, political, developmental and economic. Many of these objectives could undoubtedly be achieved by a system of general subsidy where tuition fees were kept low, especially if that were backed up by a measure of scholarship support. Lower fees would certainly enable more overseas students to come to this country but indiscriminate use of public funds on a fees subsidy is no longer a realistic option, either politically or economically. Neither is it desirable to return to the status quo ante full-cost fees. The pre-1979 years should not be viewed as some sort of golden age for overseas students in Britain. The educational system experienced considerable problems and tensions during the 1970s because of the rapidly increasing enrolment level and the associated financial costs. Britain may lack a coherent policy on overseas students today (see below) but the situation in 1979 was worse.

A general subsidy would be a waste of scarce resources. It would apply equally to the many students who would come to Britain without any form of financial support from the UK Government as to those for whom such support was the crucial determinant either of their choice of host country or even, in many cases, of whether thay were able to study overseas at all. In other words, it would benefit rich students from rich countries as much as poor students from poor countries.

Moreover, subsidised fees alone are not enough for many students. Tuition fees are only one of a number of significant costs incurred in overseas study. In many cases, maintenance and travel costs also have to be covered by scholarships if the students are to be able to come to Britain. Most important of all among the reasons for choosing a system of scholarships in preference to one of general subsidy is that limited funds can thereby be used selectively. Scholarships not only help to attract more overseas students to the UK but also, properly targeted, help to attract individuals and categories of students (perhaps from certain countries) whose presence here is felt to be necessary for the achievement of policy objectives. It is now widely agreed that, properly utilised, targeted schemes of support can provide a much more precise and effective instrument of policy than can a general fee subsidy.

The present situation, then, is an improvement on that which existed before full-cost fees and the Pym Package. Nevertheless, it remains far from perfect. Government argues that its system of full-cost fees and scholarship support is succeeding and that its policy objectives are being achieved. On the face of it, Ministers' claims that the market, in conjunction with the various scholarship schemes, is working well are borne out by the fact that, despite full-cost fees, overseas students are coming to Britain in such large numbers that the overall enrolment level in higher education is now greater than it was in 1979. However, trends in overall numbers disguise considerable imbalances in the composition of the overseas student body and in its distribution throughout the education system. The changing balance between rich and poor countries, between European Community and Commonwealth and between university and non-university study were all noted in chapter 3. On closer examination it becomes clear that the present system is not working as well as Government claims. As is argued below, there are gaps and imbalances in the present system of scholarship support. These and other difficulties derive primarily from the fact that overseas students have not been given sufficient status on the political agenda and that the various components of the system have not been drawn together into something which can properly be described as a policy. By imposing full-cost fees and then, as an ad hoc measure in response to criticism of that step, introducing the Pym Package of targeted support in 1983, Government has, perhaps unwittingly, created the framework within which an enduring policy can be developed. So far, though, the potential inherent in the situation has not been realised.

II Gaps and imbalances in the system

A system of targeted support will be effective only as long as the right targets are hit and hit in sufficient numbers. As long ago as 1985, officials were claiming that the system of

targeted support then in place represented 'a reasonably well-balanced spread of objectives and purposes to reflect not only Britain's interests but also those of the recipients'. The review of scholarship schemes from which this quotation is taken gives the impression that awards were being successfully targeted in accordance with those objectives [Interdepartmental Group, 1985]. These claims were rightly disputed by those in the lobby who believed that, although the Pym Package was an important step forward, it neither provided sufficient extra funding nor represented a coherent national policy. The increases in funding, the introduction of new schemes and the other developments outlined above have all in part been a response to this continued criticism. However, although improvement continues, there are still gaps and imbalances in the system, funding remains inadequate and, as we shall see below, policy-making continues to be fragmented and incoherent.

The small contributions made by the Departments of Trade and Industry and of Education and Science towards the system of overseas student support have already been highlighted. It is here that the most obvious deficiencies lie.

IIa) Department of Trade and Industry provision

To examine the case of the DTI first, it provides a total of £450,000 a year for overseas student support through its newly-established trade-related Hands on Training Scheme (£250,000) and the long-standing CBI scheme (£200,000). Over the years, despite the fact that, amongst others, many British industrialists have backed the idea, the Department has steadfastly resisted calls for a major injection of funds to help promote British trade. Arguments made in 1982 for the establishment of a trade-related scheme costing £4.25 million [Williams, P., 1982] were rejected with the result that the Pym Package contained nothing which was specifically geared towards achieving Britain's commercial objectives. Government fell back on the dubious argument that the FCOSAS offered the means of providing for students whom it wished to attract for trade-related as well as diplomatic and cultural objectives [Inter-departmental Group, 1985].

It is true that awards made with one objective in view can have spin-offs in other directions and that there may be benefits to trade as a result of the award of a scholarship made under, say, the FCOSAS or TCTP. It is not enough to rely on the unplanned results of expenditure by other Departments, however. As the Overseas Students Trust argued in 1987, if the Department truly accepted the argument that overseas students had a part to play in the UK's struggle for a share of world trade, then surely it would fund a 'separate, specialised scheme of awards designed to improve the prospects for British exports'. In the Trust's view (though not in that of all other parts of the lobby), the absence of such a scheme was 'the most

serious gap in the system of support for overseas students'. It recommended the establishment of a new scheme, funded by the DTI at an annual cost of £10 million [Overseas Students Trust, 1987]. The Department's reaction has been criticised as small-minded and short-sighted. The Hands on Training scheme set up in 1989 is certainly an advance on its previous refusal to contribute any new money whatsoever to overseas student support but expenditure of just £250,000 a year, providing just 25 awards, is too little. This is not to argue that spending by the DTI should match that of the FCO and particularly the ODA, of course. However, the Overseas Students Trust's argument with regard to the level of expenditure on trade-related activity in 1987 still holds good today. As the Trust wrote then, 'for a country with serious aspirations to remain an international trading force this represents a minute investment.' [ibid] The scheme may, of course, grow in future - and it will almost certainly be easier to persuade the Department to inject more funds into a scheme which already exists than it was to persuade it to set it up in the first place. For the present, however, although it is perhaps not the 'most serious' gap or imbalance in the system of support, the absence of an adequate level of funding to help achieve trade-related objectives remains a matter of serious concern.

IIb) Department of Education and Science provision

Throughout the 1980s the DES, like the DTI, has been relatively unresponsive to arguments that it should do more to help realise the potential benefits - in this case the educational benefits - afforded by the presence of overseas students in the UK. In 1989/90, the Department's expenditure on scholarship support stood at £6.5 million. By far the major part of this (£6.2 million) was channelled through the Overseas Research Students Awards Scheme (ORSAS) which supported 1,900 university research students. The remaining £300,000 was devoted to the Fulbright scheme (44 awards), the rationale for which (the furtherance of Anglo-American understanding) lies more in the realm of foreign or cultural than of educational policy. In addition to expenditure on these award schemes, the DES provides over £100,000 a year in the form of a grant to support UKCOSA's activities. The Department would argue - with some justice - that it also incurs considerable expenditure in respect of the growing number of home-fee-paying students from the European Community. (If one assumes an average cost per place of, say, £5,000 in 1988/89, then the 16,000 or so EC students in UK higher education in that year involved expenditure of some £80 million.) However, even if the cost of EC student tuition is included, bringing expenditure to over £86 million a year, this is still less than half of the annual savings (some £200 million at 1988 prices) made by the Department as a result of the full-cost fees decision. The DES could and should contribute substantially more to Britain's system of overseas student support. (Criticism of the DES goes

wider than the problem of low expenditure, however. It is clear, too, that the Department and its Ministers have not yet thought through the question of how overseas students fit into the brave new world which they have constructed for British higher education in the 1988 Education Reform Act and by other recent provisions. The implications which these developments have for overseas students are discussed below in section IV. They appear so far to have been neglected.)

Increased expenditure can be justified in a number of areas. First, there is a case for expanding ORSAS, which is presently confined to the universities, to include research students in the polytechnics and possibly in other non-university institutions. This was urged upon Government in 1982 [Williams, P.], but was rejected. The question was raised again in 1987 [Overseas Students Trust, 1987] but, although the Department has since indicated its intention to review the situation, it has so far made no firm decision. A broadening of the sphere of operations of ORSAS in this way would be welcome but it would do nothing to address an even more serious imbalance which exists in the area of DES provision. This is the absence of a scholarship scheme specifically geared to meeting the wider educational case for overseas students. ORSAS was set up in 1980 because it was recognised that the inevitable fall in the number of high-quality overseas postgraduates consequent upon the introduction of full-cost fees would seriously damage the universities' research capacity. As such it is confined to research students (and at present to the universities) but there is a strong case for the establishment of a scheme designed to enhance the benefits - 'educational, social, human and international' - provided by 'an adequate leavening of overseas students' at all levels of higher education, undergraduate as well as postgraduate [Overseas Students Trust, 1987].

It is only relatively recently (see chapter 2) that the wider educational benefits argument has begun to be articulated with conviction. The DES, in the White Paper which preceded the 1988 Education Reform Act, made its clearest acknowledgment yet of the existence of 'the educational benefits that the presence of overseas students can bring to higher education institutions' [DES, 1987]. However, the Department appears not to be prepared to provide the institutions with any concrete help to achieve these benefits. It went on in the White Paper to point out that 'after a decline following the introduction of full-cost fees in 1980, the numbers of overseas students in higher education have increased and are now again approaching the peak level of 1978'. The implication was that, as long as relatively large numbers of overseas students enrolled, the educational benefits would follow. This was greatly to oversimplify the issue. It ignored the importance of achieving an educationally appropriate mix and distribution of overseas students within

institutions. It also ignored the fact that there can be good academic reasons why institutions would want to attract bright but poor individuals who could not come to the UK without financial help.

It was for these reasons (and not because it believed that boosting overseas student numbers would per se bring educational benefits) that the Overseas Students Trust in 1987 advocated the establishment of an Educational Purposes Awards Scheme. This would be funded by the DES at an annual cost of £5 million. The money would be allocated to the institutions for distribution to students of their choice and according to their own academic priorities. The Trust argued that the scheme would help institutions 'to give priority to educational over financial criteria in determining individual admissions' and so 'help to realise the full potential of overseas students as a national educational asset'. In other words, although the market could contribute much to the realisation of educational benefits, the financial imperative to recruit often worked against the institutions' academic needs. The proposed scheme would help shift the balance back towards the educational interest.

True to what it had said in the White Paper, the Department's response to the proposed Educational Purposes Awards Scheme was that, in the light of the buoyant recruitment market, it did not see that institutions needed to boost recruitment for educational purposes.* The DES also rejected two other proposals made by the Trust in 1987. These were for the provision of £2 million towards overseas student services in the institutions and for the provision of a further £1 million towards promotional activities overseas. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Department does no more than pay lip-service to the concept of educational benefits and that it has largely abdicated responsibility for overseas student affairs to the institutions and to other Departments of State. Like the DTI, the DES appears to be content to rely heavily on the spin-off effects of scholarship schemes funded by those other departments and on the vagaries of the market place to achieve the policy objectives for which it should be responsible. The continuing absence of a scholarship scheme

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* When it was previously suggested [Williams, P., 1982] that some awards funds be channelled through the institutions this was rejected on the grounds of the need for accountability in the disbursement of public funds. However, this argument can no longer be invoked because the Government's proposed arrangements for its 'top-up loans' scheme for home students include the provision of 'access funds' to be distributed by the institutions to students of their choosing who could not otherwise afford to enrol.

designed specifically to promote the educational interest in overseas students is a major deficiency in the system of support.

IIc) FCO and ODA provision

Over nine-tenths of all awards funds are now provided by the FCO/ODA, reflecting the pre-eminence of foreign policy and developmental objectives in the overseas student policy debate. It is fair to say that these objectives are now being relatively well-served. The Pym Package was geared towards this area of policy and the expansion of the FCOSAS, the transfer to it of funds from the fee support schemes and the setting up of various new schemes on the aid vote have helped to improve matters further since 1983. However, even though the FCO with the ODA is the most generous of the Departments of State involved in overseas student policy, and, although, taken together, its scholarship programmes do make an important contribution to Third World and Commonwealth development and to British foreign policy more generally, it faces continuing pressure to increase provision.

Although criticism of the FCO/ODA must be seen in the context of the level of provision made by other Departments, such pressure is not unjustified. In terms of provision for the Commonwealth, although it receives over half of all awards funds, it should be pointed out that the most recent ODA schemes are aimed at non-Commonwealth countries (South Africa and China). Moreover the phasing out of the country schemes set up for certain Commonwealth states in 1983 and the more flexible use of funds through the FCOSAS may eventually result in reallocations which will have the effect of reducing funding for those countries and for the Commonwealth as a whole. The countries of the European Community enjoy a more favoured position than those of the Commonwealth. The enrolment trends discussed in chapter 3 indicate that substantially more needs to be done if the decline in the number of students from developing countries, including those of the Commonwealth, is to be reversed. Although certain countries, like China, are being successfully targeted, others remain comparatively neglected. This latter category includes not only countries which are potentially of great diplomatic and commercial importance (those of the Pacific Rim and South America, for example) but also those which (like many of the small island states of the Commonwealth as well as some larger countries) continue to depend upon access to higher education facilities overseas. As present, then, despite the fact that expenditure by the FCO and ODA is large in comparison with that of other Departments, not enough support is being provided to fulfil Britain's obligations to the world's developing countries and to the Commonwealth; neither have the challenges and opportunities which overseas students offer in more general foreign policy terms have yet been grasped with sufficient vigour.

III Does Britain have a policy on overseas students?

Leaving aside the question of gaps and imbalances in the system of scholarship support, the above analysis of Government's approach to the overseas student question in 1990 begs the question, 'Do full-cost fees and targeted awards between them constititute a coherent policy on overseas students?' The Government plainly believes that they do. Its response to calls for the articulation of 'a statement of UK policy on overseas students' [Overseas Students Trust, 1987] has simply been to reaffirm the tried and trusted (by Government at least) three part formula with which chapter 4 began: that Britain welcomes overseas students; that in general their education should not be subsidised; but that carefully targeted awards should be made to selected individuals and categories of student. However, many people outside Government are not convinced that this stance can legitimately be argued to constitute a policy.

In his 1987 article, 'Policy-making on overseas students', Michael Clarke wrote:

> 'It is difficult to define quite what the government's policy on overseas students is. Of course, the government makes statements and commits money; perhaps we should regard that as its policy. But if we require "policy" to be a process of analysis and some action in pursuit of agreed objectives, then it is difficult to resist the conclusion that what we are studying is not so much an overseas student policy as the components of one.'

Overseas student issues, he went on, are 'a Cinderella in British government; without influential friends, usually ignored and always poor'; as yet, 'a political fairy godmother has not appeared to transform all this into something that can properly be called a policy.' Three particular but inter-related obstacles to effective policy development can be identified: first, the hybrid nature of the issue; second, the inadequacies of the Whitehall machinery which exists to deal with it; and, third, the low political priority accorded to it by Government and the consequent over-reliance on extra-Governmental inputs to the process of articulating policy objectives and rationales.

IIIa) The hybrid nature of the overseas student question

One of the most serious obstacles to the formulation of a coherent policy on overseas students is the hybrid nature of the issue and the fact that it consequently has no natural constituency in Government. Except in times of crisis, such as in the immediate aftermath to full-cost fees, it lacks political salience and is no more than peripheral to the work of any of the main Departments of State.

It involves expenditure of public funds, therefore the Treasury has a role to play. The Home Office has an interest because overseas students involve the implementation of immigration regulations. It is an aspect of educational policy and so involves the DES (though, as we have seen, that Department has only a limited view of its role). The commercial implications require the involvement of the DTI, though it, too, is a reluctant participant. The FCO and ODA are more active but, even here, overseas students are not a mainstream policy concern. Although the aid element in overseas student awards expenditure is easily the largest, overseas students are far from central to the work of the ODA. Many observers would consider their most natural locus to be the FCO but they constitute only one of the many responsibilities of one of its lower profile departments, the Cultural Relations Department. As things stand, then, the overseas student question falls between policy-making stools. Even on the rare occasions when it is addressed as a discrete policy issue, the fact that different Departments understandably approach it with different priorities in mind means that Governmental (as opposed to Departmental) policy-making is almost invariably fragmented and lacking in coherence.

IIIb) The policy-making machinery

The low political salience from which the overseas student question ordinarily suffers means that it is only very rarely discussed at ministerial level. It seems that only on two occasions have overseas student issues reached the full Cabinet - in 1979, after the full-cost fees decision, and in 1983, when the Pym Package was agreed. Ministerial initiatives towards the active development of policy are rare and inter-departmental contact on overseas student issues almost invariably takes place at the level of Whitehall officials. The inter-departmental machinery which exists therefore revolves not around ministerial policy-making but around the administrative functions of those officials. In the absence of political direction from above, officials show no inclination to take the initiative themselves so that neither the Whitehall machinery nor the Whitehall mentality can be said to offer much scope for meaningful policy-making.

The upgrading of the machinery since 1980 (as a result of the need to avoid a repeat of the 1979 fiasco when the DES and Treasury introduced full-cost fees without consultation) has helped to improve the administration of the policy components identified above but has done little to facilitate the adoption of a proactive stance on policy-making. Nomenclature such as the FCO Overseas Students Policy Section notwithstanding, the functions of the various parts of the Whitehall machine are administrative (related to the operation of the award schemes) rather than policy-oriented. The part of the machine which comes closest to meeting the need for a policy-making body is

the IDG. It provides more formal, multilateral procedures to supplement the ad hoc, bilateral liaison between departments but even its work is limited. In the words of Michael Clarke: 'The work of the IDG has provided a vital focus to ensure that departments are kept informed and to produce a high level of consensus within Whitehall on overseas student questions'. He identifies its 'particular strengths as a liaison procedure' and its 'usefulness as a flexible instrument of coordination' but goes on to warn that:

> 'Itis far from being a procedure to establish broad priorities or take initiatives. It was established as a reaction to an inter-ministerial problem and it has remained essentially reactive in nature.'

This analysis is no less valid in 1990 than it was in 1987. The IDG remains essentially a body which ensures efficient inter-departmental liaison rather than effective Government-wide policy development. The Whitehall machine as a whole works well in terms of responding to particular problems or outside initiatives but is 'manifestly ill-equipped to take advantage...of the opportunities which are also present in its field of policy'. [Clarke, 1987] This is so precisely because the machinery operates at the level of Whitehall rather than at that of Westminster. This in turn is symptomatic of the third of the inter-related obstacles to the effective development of policy - the low priority given to overseas student issues at ministerial level.

IIIc) A low priority issue

Overseas students are not vote-winners. In the normal course of events they are of little interest to Ministers and Members of Parliament and are accorded only low level political priority. Moreover, even when political interest has been temporarily stimulated, as in the period following the introduction of full-cost fees, it is fair to say that most Government supporters have been more concerned with finding a solution to the immediate difficulties than with the search for a coherent long-term policy. The absence of regular inter-departmental discussion at Ministerial level and the rarity with which the Cabinet has taken on the question have already been noted. The House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, it is true, has kept a watching brief on overseas student affairs during the 1980s but its interest is confined to their impact on cultural diplomacy and development aid policy. Parliamentary discussion of overseas student affairs is rare (the latest House of Commons debate took place in March 1989) and, even then, its impact on the actual development of policy is small.

Official inputs into policy-making typically take the form of initiatives by individual Departments of State - and here, as we have seen, some departments show more initiative than

others. There is no coherent Government-wide view of the overseas student question and no Government policy has yet been articulated beyond the basic formula noted earlier (overseas students are welcome, in general their education will not be subsidised, but a measure of targeted scholarship support will be provided in accordance with national priorities). Government has shown little desire to adopt a pro-active stance and changes in its approach to the overseas student question such as those embodied in the Pym Package have occurred largely in response to outside pressure - to hostile overseas reaction to full-cost fees, for example, and to the prodding of the domestic and international lobbies.

The main contributions to the overseas student policy debate have by default come from outside Westminster. Organisations like UKCOSA, the Overseas Students Trust and the Commonwealth Standing Committee have all contributed substantially to the development of the intellectual framework of the debate outlined in chapter 2 and have done much in recent years to persuade those in power of the importance of the issue. In many cases Government has reacted positively to the proposals of the lobby but it has itself largely been bereft of ideas. Indeed, the lobby has attained the degree of influence which it now enjoys only because Government as a whole has not accepted responsibility for thinking through the process of policy development itself. In the absence of a Government rationale (and therefore of a Government policy) the lobby has been obliged to fill the intellectual vacuum.

Paradoxically, the pre-eminent role thrust upon the lobby in this way has helped to perpetuate the lack of coherent thinking on overseas students. Although discussion of the ideas on which policy is or should be founded has hitherto been couched in terms of the case or the rationale for overseas students, what we have in reality is not one rationale but several. The cocktail of benefits and obligations on which the arguments rest has been mixed in different proportions by different sections of the lobby or at different times, depending upon ideological motivation or political circumstances. Sometimes it is the aid perspective which is stressed; at others it is the importance of British education to the Commonwealth; at still others it is the diplomatic or economic benefits. Most recently, as was seen in chapter 2, the educational contribution of overseas students has come to the fore but, at the same time, the over-riding financial importance of overseas students continues to underpin much of the thinking in higher education circles. In the absence of a clearly articulated Government view (beyond a general reluctance to invest significantly in overseas student support), the lobby has been obliged to be opportunistic and pragmatic, often adducing arguments as much in response to perceived chinks in Government or Departmental armour as to deeply held conviction. Michael

Clarke [1987] has written of 'a shifting and slippery argument', of 'shifting rationales', of supporters seeking to use 'the most fashionable defence against financial attacks'. The descriptions are not altogether unjustified; the intellectual approach has so far been piecemeal, incrementalist and frequently lacking in overall coherence. To quote Alice Chandler [1989]:

> 'In Britain - as in most of the major receiving countries - the foreign student issue continues to exist as what has been called a "semi-detached question", much commented on pragmatically, but lacking a broader philosophical base.'

This is not to denigrate the contribution - intellectual and practical - which the lobby has made over the last decade. Rather it is to affirm dissatisfaction at Government's continuing abdication of its responsibility for providing the rationale for overseas student policy in the UK. Extra-Governmental organisations are likely always to have a significant role in the overseas student policy debate. Ultimately, however, only Government can provide the overall perspective and political direction needed to facilitate the development of a coherent national policy. It is not inevitable that overseas student questions should continue to lack priority. The circular argument - the issue is hybrid therefore it is not considered important; it is not considered important therefore the various strands need not be drawn together within Government - can only be broken by an injection of political interest and will from above. Unless this happens overseas students will continue to be a Cinderella issue in Britain. The overseas student question will continue to suffer from the fact that what Britain has is not a policy but merely the components of one. Gaps and imbalances in provision such as those identified above will continue to exist and, while some Departments will go on playing a relatively active role in overseas student affairs, others, like the DES and DTI do now, will continue to treat them as a marginal issue.

IV Conclusion: future developments?

As was argued earlier, the parameters of Government's approach towards overseas students appear to be set for the foreseeable future. Even the fiercest critics of full-cost fees now acknowledge (at least in private) that there is no prospect of a return to general subsidy. (For example, in 1989, in its sixth report, even the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility finally conceded the point, albeit reluctantly. The Committee had consistently argued against full-cost fees since its inception but is now pinning its hopes for Commonwealth education as much on the Commonwealth Higher Education Support Scheme (CHESS) as on increasing access to Britain and other developed countries. CHESS is intended to aid

the expansion and improvement of universities in the developing Commonwealth in order to cater for students who are not now able to study overseas [Commonwealth Secretariat, 1989].) Moreover, it is now accepted by many that the pre-1980 situation was not, after all, some sort of golden age for overseas students. There is a degree of consensus that, together, full-cost fees and targeted scholarship support provide a not unreasonable framework within which to deal with the overseas student question. There is considerably less agreement between Government and its critics, of course, about how much scholarship support should be provided and by which Departments of State, about how scholarships should be targeted and administered, and about how the process of ongoing policy development should be organised.

So, given a framework of full-cost fees and targeted scholarship support, what are the factors which are likely to influence the development of the overseas student situation in Britain during the 1990s? It is impossible to predict with confidence how things will develop. Trends in enrolment are especially difficult to forecast because so many unpredictables like the sterling exchange rate and developments in other countries (both senders and receivers of overseas students) impact upon the situation. However, one can identify a number of factors which are likely to influence either directly or indirectly the number of overseas students coming to Britain and the countries from which they will come. The most obvious influences can be classified under the headings of 'changes in UK higher education' and 'the European dimension'.

IVa) Changes in UK higher education

The main changes occurring in higher education were outlined in chapter 1. Of these, perhaps the most significant in terms of their potential impact on overseas students are the moves to push institutions towards the market place and the demographic changes which are taking place.

Home students and market forces

As we have seen, Government is trying to make institutions more responsive to market forces by increasing the proportion of their funds which comes from fees as opposed to the block grant. This will have the effect of reducing the differential between fees charged to home and overseas students. Home fees will still fall short of full cost but, if institutions take up the challenge (and financial pressures will ensure that they do), the frenzied recruitment activity which has already been evident in the overseas student market for some years is likely to be echoed in the home market. The competition for home students will become even more intense if a full-blown voucher system or full-cost fees are introduced. Even if the latter are not introduced, home students will henceforward be an important source of revenue for the institutions. This is likely to have

a significant effect on their attitude towards the recruitment of overseas students. Hitherto, they have devoted considerable energy and resources to this activity because overseas fees represented one of the few elements of 'free' and upwardly adjustable income in their budgets. Once home student fees fall into the same category the financial incentive to recruit overseas will no longer be as great. In short, if revenue can be generated by enrolling students from Manchester, Southampton or Humberside, why bother to recruit them in Malaysia, Singapore or Hong Kong? Numbers of overseas students may well fall as a result.

The Times Higher Education Supplement argued in 1987 that overseas students would remain a semi-detached question in Britain unless they were considered within the broader picture of the higher education system as a whole. The DES has so far tried to justify its lack of activity in overseas student matters by arguing that the recruitment market is buoyant, especially in the universities but its own policies for higher education as a whole could well burst the bubble. There is no evidence that the Department has thought through the implications for overseas students of its own policies. Neither has it considered the implications of the two other factors discussed in this section - the demographic changes which are now taking place and the image which British education is projecting overseas.

Demographic trends

Although the introduction of the market ethos into higher education may reduce interest in recruiting overseas students, the impact of this will probably be mitigated by the effects of the fall in the number of UK school leavers which is expected to continue until the mid-1990s. With a projected fall in numbers of nearly a quarter over the period 1987 to 1996 (despite the fact that this will impact less heavily upon social groups I and II which have traditionally supplied most entrants to higher education), there is likely to be a considerable shortfall in the number of home students. Despite the fact that they will no longer be so financially attractive in relative terms, overseas students are likely still to be sought as a means of taking up institutional spare capacity. Another effect of the so-called 'demographic time-bomb' is likely to be the acceleration of the process of widening access to higher education for home students. It will become even more important that non-traditional entrants, including those with non-standard qualifications, will be encouraged to enrol. This, in turn, has positive implications for access for overseas students since it will complement moves to increase institutional flexibility with regard to overseas qualifications.

The overseas image of UK education

It is fair to say that the relationship between Government and the majority of higher education institutions and their leaders has deteriorated during the 1980s. The problems caused by the financial cuts imposed in the early part of the decade have since been compounded by bouts of public mud-slinging which have often been based on ideological antipathy. (Ministers are 'philistines' whose cost-accountant mentalities are incapable of understanding the educational needs of the country; academics are are 'wishy-washy liberals' who need to learn the economic realities of life.)

It can no longer be guaranteed that a large proportion of potential overseas students or their sponsors will automatically regard a British education as one of if not the best in the world. Government policy has thrust overseas student recruitment firmly into the market place. Competition for overseas students among the receiving countries is strong and, for those who can afford to pay for it, overseas education is clearly a buyer's market. The image of the product which the sellers of educational services project in the international market is therefore important. The atmosphere of distrust and uncertainty which has been engendered by Government's determination to reform higher education and by academics' response to it has already adversely affected foreigners' perception of Britain's higher education system and the discord which has characterised the educational debate in Britain during the 1980s has damaged Britain's reputation overseas. For example, during a recent dispute over academics' salaries, when a refusal by lecturers to mark their students' examination papers was in the offing, Malaysian officials made it clear that they had doubts about the wisdom of continuing to send their students to Britain. With British higher education still in a state of flux and with the prospect of continued disagreement about the way forward it is possible that its image (already tarnished, of course, by evidence of malpractice in the recruitment of overseas students) will continue to suffer. The result may be that more overseas students will be discouraged from coming to the UK and will go instead to the USA, Canada, Australia or the countries of continental Europe.

IVb) The European dimension

Britain's view of the world and her position within it have changed significantly over the last few decades. The so-called 'special relationship' with the USA is still a strong influence on external policy. So too are the long-standing links which were forged with the countries of the Commonwealth when Britain was an Imperial power. These relationships and links are founded in economic, political and strategic interest and are reinforced by linguistic, cultural and psychological attachments. The balance of interests is shifting, however. Despite occasional disagreements with her European partners,

Britain's role in the world is increasingly becoming identified with her geopolitical position in Europe and, in particular, with her membership of the European Community (EC).

The shift towards Europe has sometimes been at the expense of traditional friendships. This has certainly been the case in the sphere of overseas student policy and provision. The requirement to provide equality of treatment for home students and those from other EC countries has meant that the latter have been exempted from the effects of full-cost fees which have had such an adverse effect on the enrolment of students from the Commonwealth and elsewhere. Recently, matters have become skewed even more towards EC students. In most cases, they are now not only charged lower fees than other overseas students but, as a result of various legal judgements, have those fees paid out of British public funds. (They will not, therefore, be affected by the increases in fees for home students to be introduced in 1990.) Commonwealth students do, of course, benefit from a significant number of British Government scholarships but these have not been enough to offset the obstacle to mobilty which is posed by full-cost fees. By contrast, EC students are enjoying an unprecedented degree of access to UK education. Recent and impending developments within the Community are likely to push the balance of opportunity even further towards Europe.

The advent in 1992 of the Single Market whereby any remaining obstacles to the free movement of people and goods within the Community are to be removed is likely to stimulate intra-Community mobility of students even beyond the levels which have already been achieved. Some institutions in Britain are particularly keen to increase the numbers of bright Europeans on their courses. A significant boost to the realisation of their objectives is being provided by the ERASMUS scheme (European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) which was set up by the European Commission in 1987. ERASMUS has already contributed to a significant expansion of both staff and student mobility within the Community and it is intended that, eventually, 10 per cent of its higher education students should spend part of their period of study in another member state. Student exchanges under ERASMUS usually last between three and twelve months and are funded by grants which cover costs of travel, linguistic preparation and extra living expenses. Participants do not pay fees in the host country but continue to pay for tuition in their home institution during the period of the exchange. The specific stimulus of ERASMUS and the more general impetus towards mobility provided by the hastening of economic and political integration within the Community are likely to ensure that the growth in the number of EC students coming to Britain seen in chapter 3 will continue during the 1990s. In the absence of some form of scheme to promote mobility within the other multi-national community of

which Britain is a member, the number of students from the Commonwealth is likely to remain low.

British policy makers' increasingly Eurocentric view of the world is not confined to the European Community. Eastern European countries, too, are now being seen as a source of political and commercial opportunity. The softening of attitudes fostered by the political changes taking place in Eastern Europe is also being reflected in the realm of overseas student affairs. In March 1989 [Hansard, 8/3/89] Mr Eggar, the FCO Minister then responsible for overseas student policy said in Parliament: 'We have...been able to respond to the challenge of glasnost with scholarships for Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union...We plan more scholarship activity in Eastern Europe over the next three years.' The scholarships of which he spoke were funded by the FCO diplomatic wing through the FCOSAS. It is possible that the number of these awards, which are being made on political and commercial grounds, will grow. Eastern European countries are also being spoken of as potential beneficiaries from British development aid and it is conceivable that ODA involvement there will lead to the provision of some awards on the aid vote. Whether additional funds would be provided for these or whether funds would have to be diverted from existing recipients remains unclear. In either case, Eastern Europe, like the European Community is likely to be the focus of more activity in terms of overseas students during the 1990s.

* * *

Although it is true, as was argued in chapter 2, that overseas student matters have come to be taken more seriously since the 1979 decision on full-cost fees, it is clear that this changed perception of their importance has not been translated into an effective and coherent policy. Despite the introduction of a number of new scholarship schemes and the increase in provision for overseas students in real terms, there remain gaps and imbalances in the system of support. More important, Government has not got to grips with the fundamentals of the overseas student issue. It has not answered - or even asked - the basic questions like: How many overseas students do we want in Britain? Where should they come from? What and where should they study? In what relative proportions should home and overseas students be enrolled? Government - and the DES in particular - seems content to leave matters almost wholly in the hands of the institutions. They, in turn, beset by financial difficulties and uncertainties about the effects of Government policy on higher education, are finding it difficult, if not impossible, to formulate meaningful policies on overseas students. Despite the growing recognition of the educational importance of overseas students, the financial benefits of recruitment still provide the overriding imperative

for institutional activity. Michael Clarke's analysis - that all we have at present are the components of a policy - stands scrutiny. As was argued earlier, if these components are to be transformed into a policy proper, an injection of political will needs to be provided from above. Unfortunately, the prognosis for such a development are not good.

APPENDIX A

Overseas student enrolment in Britain since 1979

The Nature of the Data

The most complete published source of statistical information on overseas students in the United Kingdom is a compilation of figures published annually by the British Council under the title Statistics of Students from Abroad in the United Kingdom (SOSAUK). At the time of writing, the latest edition of SOSAUK was for the academic year 1986/87 (ie, for statistics described in this study as relating to 1986). For 1987 and 1988, national UK statistics have been compiled by the author from data kindly supplied by the Department of Education and Science, the Universities Statistical Record and the Northern Ireland Education Department. These latter statistics have been compiled using the same criteria as those used by the British Council and provide a consistent time series.

The British Council's SOSAUK and the equivalent figures compiled for 1987 and 1988 are the source of the majority of the tables in this appendix and in chapter 3. Other sources used include the DES's occasional Statistical Bulletins and the statistical publications of the Universities Statistical Record (USR), the Universities Central Council on Admissions (UCCA), and the Polytechnics Central Admissions System (PCAS).

Most of the tables contain information spanning the period 1979 (the last year before the introduction of full-cost fees) to 1988. Figures for 1988 are not available in each case, however. For some analyses, it has been necessary to use data for 1987 or, in one case (subject of study), for 1986. In the majority of tables, figures relate to the United Kingdom as a whole. A few tables contain figures which relate only to Great Britain (that is, to the United Kingdom excluding Northern Ireland).

It should be pointed out that, for 1987, no information is available on the small number (504 in 1986) of overseas students in the non-university sector in Northern Ireland. In the absence of data for 1987, in line with the practice followed by the DES in its Statistical Bulletin 11/89, it has been assumed that there has been no change in enrolment between 1986 and 1987 and the figures for 1986 have been repeated for 1987.

Some of the tables contain analyses by country group of origin. The groupings used are as follows:

poorest fifty countries;
all developing countries;
OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) members;
European Community members and dependencies;
Commonwealth members.

The poorest fifty and developing country groups are as defined by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD as of 31st December 1988. Figures for these groups therefore differ slightly from those contained in other publications (for example, in the Overseas Students Trust's The Next Steps, published in 1987) which were compiled using listings which have now been superseded. The European Community (EC) increased in size over the period 1979 to 1988. The new members (Greece, which joined in 1981, and Spain and Portugal, which joined in 1986) have been included in the Community statistics for the whole period in order to arrive at a consistent time series. Again, this means that figures differ from those published earlier. EC figures include students from dependencies of member states (the majority of which come from Gibraltar) as well as those from the member countries themselves. Membership of the OECD has not changed over the period. Although there have been changes in Commonwealth membership, these have been disregarded in the interests of statistical continuity. Fiji, which seceded from the Commonwealth in 1987, has been regarded as being in membership for the entire period 1979 to 1988. Pakistan, rejoined the Commonwealth only in 1989 and is not regarded as a member for purposes of statistical analysis in this study. Namibia rejoins the Commonwealth in 1990 and it too is excluded from this group for statistical purposes.

The present analysis is confined to students enrolled in the publicly-funded sector - that is, in those institutions from which the overseas student fee subsidy was removed in 1980. The number of overseas students in private colleges and language schools is estimated to be considerable but there is no complete and authoritative source of data on students in the private or independent sector.

If enrolment data for the publicly-funded sector are to be interpreted correctly it is necessary to understand how overseas students are defined for statistical purposes. The current official definition of overseas students is as follows:

> '...students of all ages on publicly funded further and higher courses whose usual place of domicile or residence (as stated by the students) is outside the United Kingdom.'[DES Statistical Bulletin, 11/89]

Thus the present basis of the statistics is domicile and not overseas fee status or nationality. Where necessary (for 1979

and 1980 university statistics in particular), British Council and other figures have been converted to this basis. Currently available statistics, even for the publicly-funded sector, suffer from a number of limitations. First, it is clear that not all overseas students who enrol during a given academic year are included in the figures. This is largely because of the way in which most data are collected, with enrolment details recorded on the basis of the stock figure on an annual census date - 31st December for universities and 1st November for other institutions. The result is that students on short courses which do not overlap the census date are excluded from the records. This is a serious omission because the indications are that institutions are providing an increasing number of such short programmes of study. (It is also one of the reasons why enrolment data are incompatible with statistics for Government-funded award schemes - see Appendix B.)

A second difficulty is that, although the figures used in this study represent as accurate a time series as it is possible to achieve at present, a number of redefinitions and statistical reclassifications have taken place since 1979, so that data for successive years are not necessarily entirely consistent. For example, legislation was enacted in 1983 to regularise the vexed problem of how students should be classified as home or overseas for fees purposes on the basis of their country of ordinary residence or domicile. This has resulted in the reclassification to overseas status of some students who would previously have been categorised as UK-domiciled.

A final and besetting problem with statistics on the overseas student population is that they tend to be considerably out of date. As was noted earlier, the latest figures published by the British Council are for 1986; the latest figures published by the DES (for Great Britain only) are for 1987. (The Universities Statistical Record has, however, published statistics to show university enrolment in 1988.) Delays in the publication of statistics severely handicap the analysis and monitoring of overseas student policy. It is, of course, possible to obtain more up to date statistics, as is shown by the inclusion in this study of previously unpublished figures for 1988 for the publicly-funded sector as a whole. However, these have to be collated from a number of separate sources all of which is a very lengthy process.

TABLE A.1

Overseas students in the UK, by country groupings, 1979 to 1988

	Country groupings	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
1.	Poorest 50 countries	11,222	9,932	8,286	6,934	7,052	7,802	8,774	9,587	10,187	11,051
		(100)	(88.5)	(73.8)	(61.8)	(62.8)	(69.5)	(78.2)	(85.4)	(90.8)	(98.5)
2.	All developing countries	73,595	64,849	54,026	46,312	43,750	42,958	46,669	48,185	47,694	47,845
		(100)	(88.1)	(73.4)	(62.9)	(59.4)	(58.4)	(63.4)	(65.5)	(64.8)	(65.0)
3.	OECD members	16,177	13,977	11,740	11,674	12,902	13,968	17,407	19,960	22,543	27,480
		(100)	(86.4)	(72.6)	(72.2)	(79.8)	(86.3)	(107.6)	(123.4)	(139.4)	(169.9)
4.	European Community members and dependencies	7,571	6,594	6,339	6,379	6,516	7,354	8,753	10,465	12,695	16,719
		(100)	(87.1)	(83.7)	(84.3)	(86.1)	(97.1)	(115.6)	(138.2)	(167.7)	(220.8)
5.	Commonwealth members	45,882	41,420	34,350	29,380	28,369	27,748	29,701	30,415	30,329	30,219
		(100)	(90.3)	(74.9)	(64.0)	(61.8)	(60.5)	(64.7)	(66.3)	(66.1)	(65.9)
6.	Total enrolments (all countries)	88,037	77,630	64,071	56,665	55,608	56,121	63,522	65,898	67,749	72,500
		(100)	(88.2)	(72.8)	(64.4)	(63.2)	(63.7)	(72.2)	(74.9)	(77.0)	(82.4)

Source: British Council, DES, Northern Ireland Education Dept.

Membership of the European Community has increased over the period under review. The countries which have joined since 1979 are Greece (1981) and Spain and Portugal (both 1986). In order to arrive at a consistent time series, students from all three countries are included in the EC grouping for each of the years 1979 to 1988.

Poorest fifty countries and developing countries are as defined by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD as of 31 December 1988.

Figures in brackets denote percentage of 1979 total.

The groupings are not mutually exclusive so that the figures in rows 1 to 5 do not add up to the total in row 6.

TABLE A.2

Main country groupings as a proportion of total overseas student enrolment, 1979, 1984 and 1988

	1979	1984	1988
Poorest fifty countries	12.7%	13.9%	15.2%
All developing countries	83.6%	76.5%	66.0%
OECD members	18.4%	24.9%	37.9%
European Community members	8.6%	13.1%	23.1%
Commonwealth members	52.1%	49.4%	41.7%
All countries	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: British Council, DES, Northern Ireland Education Dept.

Note that European Community figures for all years include Greece, Spain and Portugal, whether or not they were actually members of the Community at the time. EC figures also include dependencies of member states.

Poorest fifty countries and developing countries are as defined by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD as of 31 December 1988.

TABLE A.3

Students from abroad on the first year of their course 1979 to 1987 by qualification aim (Great Britain)

Thousands

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Universities									
Postgraduate	10.2	9.2	10.2	10.6	11.4	12.1	13.9	14.8	14.4
Undergraduate	6.9	7.3	6.1	6.8	7.1	7.7	9.4	10.1	10.6
Total universities	17.1	16.5	16.3	17.4	18.5	19.8	23.2	24.8	24.9
Advanced FE	9.8	8.9	8.5	6.6	6.3	6.5	7.4	7.4	7.8
Total Higher Education	26.9	25.4	24.8	24.0	24.8	26.3	30.6	32.2	32.8
Non-advanced FE	18.5	11.9	6.1	5.4	5.3	4.9	7.3	6.1	5.2
Grand total	45.4	37.3	30.9	29.4	30.1	31.2	37.9	38.3	38.0

Source: Department of Education and Science

Figures for non-advanced further education for 1985 and subsequent years include students on courses leading to unspecified qualifications. Such students are not included in the statistics for earlier years.

TABLE A.4

Overseas students applying and accepted for first degree courses in universities, 1979 to 1989

Year	Overseas applicants through UCCA	Overseas applicants accepted by universities	% of overseas applicants accepted by universities
1979	24,134	5,767	23.9
1980	21,105	5,756	27.3
1981	17,766	5,827	32.8
1982	14,821	5,118	34.5
1983	15,723	5,229	33.3
1984	17,186	5,663	33.0
1985	19,468	6,708	34.5
1986	21,191	7,628	36.0
1987	23,726	8,202	34.6
1988	26,633	8,907	33.4
1989	24,285	8,929	36.8

Source: Universities Central Council on Admissions, Reports and Supplements

Note that the number of students accepted is not equivalent to the number who actually enrol as new entrants in a given year. The number accepted almost always exceeds the number admitted or enrolled.

TABLE A.5

Overseas students in the UK by major subject groups and level of study, 1979 and 1986

	Engineering and Technology		Science		Social Administrative and Business Studies		Other Subject Groups		Total	
	1979	1986	1979	1986	1979	1986	1979	1986	1979	1986
Universities										
Postgraduate	4,139 (22)	4,635 (21)	3,910 (21)	3,974 (18)	3,938 (21)	5,879 (27)	6,446 (36)	7,144 (33)	18,433 (100)	21,332 (100)
Undergraduate	7,760 (36)	5,301 (25)	4,389 (20)	2,854 (13)	4,258 (18)	5,730 (27)	5,171 (26)	7,447 (35)	21,578 (100)	21,632 (100)
Total universities	11,899 (30)	9,936 (23)	8,299 (21)	6,828 (16)	8,196 (21)	11,609 (27)	11,617 (28)	14,591 (34)	40,011 (100)	42,964 (100)
Advanced FE	8,166 (38)	5,309 (37)	2,380 (11)	1,534 (11)	6,207 (29)	3,876 (27)	4,560 (22)	3,727 (26)	21,313 (100)	14,446 (100)
Total higher education	20,065 (33)	15,245 (27)	10,679 (17)	8,362 (15)	14,403 (23)	15,485 (27)	16,177 (27)	18,318 (32)	61,324 (100)	57,410 (100)
Non-advanced FE	4,940 (19)	1,696 (20)	652 (2)	303 (4)	1,796 (7)	776 (9)	19,325* (72)	5,713* (67)	26,713 (100)	8,488 (100)
Grand total	25,005 (28)	16,941 (26)	11,331 (13)	8,665 (13)	16,199 (18)	16,261 (25)	35,502 (41)	24,031 (37)	88,037 (100)	65,898 (100)

Source: British Council

* Includes 16,518 students at GCE/SCE level or taking subject unclassified courses in 1979 and 2,154 such students in 1986.

Figures in brackets denote percentage of row totals.

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TABLE A.6

Overseas students by country of domicile 1979 and 1988

Country	Economic status	No. of students in the UK 1979	1988	% change 1979 to 1988
Commonwealth Countries & UK Dependencies				
Anguilla	OD	0	2	n.a.
Antigua & Barbuda	OD	15	6	-60.0
Australia	DC (OECD)	759	444	-41.5
Bahamas	OD	51	49	-3.9
Bangladesh	PFC	371	392	+5.7
Barbados	OD	156	141	-9.6
Belize	OD	17	19	+11.8
Bermuda	OD	49	78	+59.2
Botswana	LLDC	127	406	+219.7
British Virgin Islands	OD	6	10	+66.7
Brunei	OD	783	866	+10.6
Canada	DC (OECD)	934	1,028	+12.6
Cayman Islands	OD	6	43	+616.7
Cyprus	OD	1,655	1,547	-6.5
Dominica	OD	32	22	-31.3
Falkland Islands	OD	2	4	+100.0
Fiji	OD	54	50	-7.4
The Gambia	PFC	79	168	+112.7
Ghana	PFC	738	333	-54.9
Gibraltar	OD	192	206	-7.3
Grenada	OD	30	22	-26.7
Guyana	PFC	252	83	-67.1
Hong Kong	OD	6,954	7,345	+5.6
India	PFC	1,200	1,096	-8.7
Jamaica	OD	196	113	-42.3

Country	Economic status	No. of students in the UK 1979	1988	% change 1979 to 1988
Kenya	PFC	1,199	1,285	+7.2
Kiribati	LLDC	11	12	+9.1
Leeward Islands	OD	0	4	n.a.
Lesotho	PFC	62	118	+90.3
Malawi	PFC	297	461	+55.2
Malaysia	OD	14,712	6,438	-56.2
Maldives	PFC	22	48	+118.2
Malta	OD	181	99	-45.3
Mauritius	OD	770	355	-53.9
Montserrat	OD	2	3	+50.0
Nauru	OD	0	3	n.a.
New Zealand	DC (OECD)	222	188	-15.3
Nigeria	OD (OPEC)	5,263	1,315	-75.0
Papua New Guinea	OD	30	33	+10.0
St Helena	OD	3	8	+166.7
St Kitts Nevis	OD	19	11	-42.1
St Lucia	OD	31	33	+6.5
St Vincent	OD	17	16	-5.9
Seychelles	OD	54	99	+83.3
Sierra Leone	PFC	308	158	-48.7
Singapore	OD	1,841	2,040	+10.8
Solomon Islands	OD	14	8	-42.6
Sri Lanka	PFC	1,673	625	-62.6
Swaziland	OD	65	114	+75.4
Tanzania	PFC	652	442	-32.2
Tonga	OD	7	12	+71.4
Trinidad & Tobago	OD	359	270	-24.8
Turks & Caicos Islands	OD	1	8	+700.0
Tuvalu	LLDC	7	2	-71.4
Uganda	PFC	228	389	+70.6
Vanuatu	LLDC	5	7	+40.0
Western Samoa	LLDC	3	4	+33.3
Windward Islands	OD	0	3	n.a.
Zambia	PFC	880	708	-19.5
Zimbabwe	OD	2,250	426	-81.1

Country	Economic status	No. of students in the UK 1979	1988	% change 1979 to 1988
European Community Countries*				
Belgium	DC (OECD)	262	587	+124.0
Denmark	DC (OECD)	137	347	+153.3
France	DC (OECD)	595	2,633	+342.5
Germany, FR	DC (OECD)	1,185	3,235	+173.0
Greece	OD (OECD)	3,029	2,820	-6.9
Irish Republic	DC (OECD)	710	3,535	+397.9
Italy	DC (OECD)	411	905	+120.2
Luxembourg	DC (OECD)	60	122	+103.3
Netherlands	DC (OECD)	406	640	+57.6
Portugal	OD (OECD)	326	401	+23.0
Spain	DC (OECD)	258	1,266	+392.6
EC Dependencies (excl. Gibraltar)	n.a.	0	22	n.a.
Other Foreign Countries				
Afghanistan	PFC	47	13	-72.3
Algeria	OD (OPEC)	755	577	-23.6
Andorra	DC	0	1	n.a.
Angola	OD	2	35	+3300.0
Argentina	OD	99	39	-60.6
Austria	DC (OECD)	59	81	+37.3
Bahrain	OD	356	206	-42.1
Benin	PFC	1	14	+1300.0
Bhutan	PFC	12	27	+125.0
Bolivia	OD	16	18	+12.5

* Although Greece joined the Community only in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986, for statistical purposes all three countries are included in the Community for both 1979 and 1988.

Country	Economic status	No. of students in the UK 1979	1988	% change 1979 to 1988
Brazil	OD	540	746	+38.1
Bulgaria	CPE	7	18	+157.1
Burkina Faso	PFC	2	7	+250.0
Burma	PFC	6	49	+716.7
Burundi	PFC	8	5	-37.5
Cambodia	PFC	4	3	-25.0
Cameroon	OD	118	428	+262.7
Cape Verde	PFC	0	1	n.a.
Central African Republic	PFC	2	4	+100.0
Chad	PFC	5	6	+20.0
Chile	OD	315	58	-81.6
China	PFC	173	1,533	+786.1
Colombia	OD	160	122	+103.3
Comoros	PFC	0	3	n.a.
Congo	OD	3	6	+100.0
Costa Rica	OD	41	14	-65.9
Cuba	OD	3	1	-66.7
Czechoslovakia	CPE	7	3	-57.1
Djibouti	LLDC	27	5	-81.5
Dominican Republic	OD	8	7	-12.5
Ecuador	OD (OPEC)	29	38	+31.0
Egypt	OD	606	273	-55.0
El Salvador	OD	16	4	-75.0
Equatorial Guinea	PFC	0	1	n.a.
Ethiopia	PFC	144	320	+122.2
Finland	DC (OECD)	85	127	+49.4
Gabon	OD (OPEC)	7	11	+57.1
Germany, DR	CPE	7	24	+242.9
Guatemala	OD	11	7	-36.4
Guinea	PFC	3	14	+366.7
Guinea Bissau	PFC	0	3	n.a.
Haiti	PFC	4	2	-50.0
Honduras	OD	9	8	-11.1
Hungary	CPE	14	17	+21.4
Iceland	DC (OECD)	134	125	-6.7

Country	Economic status	No. of students in the UK 1979	1988	% change 1979 to 1988
Indonesia	PFC (OPEC)	597	628	+5.2
Iran	OD (OPEC)	8,365	1,104	-86.8
Iraq	OD (OPEC)	2,487	923	-62.9
Israel	OD	354	430	+21.5
Ivory Coast	OD	62	47	-24.2
Japan	DC (OECD)	543	1,036	+90.8
Jordan	OD	1,739	520	-70.1
Korea, North	CPE	5	9	+80.0
Korea, South	OD	95	377	+296.8
Kuwait	OD (OPEC)	612	363	-40.7
Laos	PFC	9	0	n.a.
Lebanon	OD	417	242	-42.0
Liberia	PFC	29	45	+55.2
Libya	OD (OPEC)	928	367	-60.5
Liechtenstein	DC	0	2	n.a.
Macao	OD	34	28	-17.6
Madagascar	PFC	8	13	+62.5
Mali	PFC	33	19	-42.4
Mauritania	PFC	4	7	+75.0
Mexico	OD	432	265	-38.7
Monaco	DC	0	4	n.a.
Mongolia	CPE	4	1	-75.0
Morocco	OD	50	66	+32.0
Mozambique	PFC	15	68	+353.3
Namibia	OD	22	132	+500.0
Nepal	PFC	56	104	+85.7
Nicaragua	OD	8	7	-12.5
Niger	PFC	18	14	-22.2
Norway	DC (OECD)	578	1,485	+156.9
Oman	OD	114	684	+500.0
Pakistan	PFC	941	1,240	+31.8
Panama	OD	14	15	+7.1
Paraguay	OD	5	7	+40.0
Peru	OD	89	61	-31.5
Philippines	OD	61	76	+24.6

Country	Economic status	No. of students in the UK 1979	1988	% change 1979 to 1988
Poland	CPE	68	60	-11.8
Qatar	OD (OPEC)	75	157	+109.3
Romania	CPE	2	1	-50.0
Rwanda	PFC	6	10	+66.7
Sao Tome & Principe	PFC	0	1	n.a.
Saudi Arabia	OD (OPEC)	406	643	+58.4
Senegal	PFC	13	17	+30.8
Somalia	PFC	59	52	-11.9
South Africa	DC	604	621	+2.8
Soviet Union	CPE	25	66	+164.0
Sudan	PFC	958	433	-54.8
Surinam	OD	6	1	-83.3
Sweden	DC	148	220	+48.6
Switzerland	DC	477	345	-27.7
Syria	OD	245	185	-24.5
Taiwan	OD	130	254	+95.4
Thailand	OD	573	377	-34.2
Togo	PFC	9	12	+33.3
Tunisia	OD	25	37	+48.0
Turkey	OD	1,274	682	-46.5
United Arab Emirates	OD (OPEC)	253	295	+16.6
US America	DC	3,585	5,228	+45.8
Uruguay	OD	22	21	-4.5
Venezuela	OD (OPEC)	775	61	-92.1
Vietnam	PFC	31	10	-67.7
West Indies	OD	0	11	n.a.
Yemen, AR	LLDC	98	141	+43.9
Yemen, PDR	PFC	33	43	+30.3
Yugoslavia	OD (OECD*)	67	126	+88.1
Zaire	PFC	31	24	-22.6
Stateless	n.a.	13	9	-30.8
Not Known	n.a.	2,138	232	-89.1
Grand total	n.a.	88,037	72,500	-17.6

Notes to Table A.6:

Sources:

Enrolment statistics: British Council, DES and Northern Ireland Education Department.
Economic Status: Overseas Development Administration: British Aid Statistics 1984-1988, East Kilbride, 1989.

Economic Status - Key:

PFC	-	Poorest Fifty Country	) as defined by
LLDC	-	Other least developed country	) OECD DAC,
OD	-	Other developing country	) 31/12/88
DC	-	Developed Country	
CPE	-	Centrally Planned Economy	
OECD	-	(Organisation for Economic Co-operation & Development) member (* - asssociate member only)	
OPEC	-	OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) member	

APPENDIX B

British Government-funded scholarship schemes

Introduction

The wide range of targeted award schemes now in existence was noted in Chapter 4. Some were already operating before the introduction of full cost fees in 1980. Since then the amount of selective support made available by Government has been increased. New award schemes have been set up by a number of departments of state and the level of funding of existing award schemes has also been increased in real terms.

This appendix contains details of how each scheme operates and is intended to complement the more general analysis in chapter 4. Before describing the schemes, however, it is necessary to point out that one cannot directly relate the number of awards and their distribution to the size and distribution of the overseas student population as recorded in the enrolment figures. The two sets of data are incompatible in a number of ways.

First, not all award-holders are students in the publicly funded education sector, to which the published enrolment statistics relate. Some are enrolled in private colleges and others are trainees on practical attachments in industry and elsewhere. Secondly, a proportion even of those award-holders who are studying in the publicly funded sector are excluded from the annual enrollment records. These records are incomplete for they exclude students who are not enrolled on the annual census date. Particularly affected are students on the increasingly popular short courses. Whereas enrolment statistics are census figures showing numbers on a particular date, the awards data are flow figures of students and trainees arriving over a period of time. Moreover, Government's awards figures are presented on the basis of the financial year and are likely to be inflated because they straddle two academic years.

For these reasons the proportion of overseas students in receipt of awards is lower than would be suggested by simple division of the number of students as recorded in the published figures (see chapter 3) by the number of award-holders (as shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2).

The schemes

1. Technical Co-operation Training Programme (TCTP)

The TCTP operates as part of Britain's development aid programme. It has existed in its present form since about 1960. It is a government-to-government scheme whose purpose is to enhance manpower resources and social and economic development in the Third World by supplementing local training facilities. Awards are as far as possible related to specific development aid projects.

Candidates - who are ordinarily of postgraduate or post-experience status - are nominated by their government in the expectation of their returning to fill posts of responsibility, normally in the public sector, in their home country. Training is practical and technical. Engineering, agriculture, applied science, management, public administration and applied social sciences are the main areas of study. Very few awards are made at PhD level. Awards are principally tenable in Britain and usually run for between 3 and 3 years.

The programme is funded by the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) of the FCO from the aid vote. The level of funding has been increased substantially in recent years and now stands at about £81m a year. Some 13,000 awards are made annually. Of these, some two-thirds go to developing Commonwealth countries. About half of the awards made in any one year are for new students and trainees.

Decisions on technical co-operation training policy rest with the ODA. The British Council is responsible for the administration of the TCTP, both overseas and in Britain.

2. ODA Shared Scholarship Scheme (ODASSS)

The first awards under ODASSS were made in 1986. The scheme is intended to help very able but poor students from developing Commonwealth countries to study in Britain. Preference is given to those studying subjects related to the economic and social development of their home country. Awards cover a maximum of 4 years for undergraduate and 2 years for postgraduate study.

Scholarships are jointly funded by the ODA and by British universities and polytechnics. Candidates for awards are selected in the first instance by the institutions participating in the scheme from those applying for a place. Administrative responsibility is shared with the ODA. The ODA's financial contribution stood at £1.68m in 1989/90 when 250 students benefited under the scheme.

3. The Sino-British Friendship Scholarship Scheme (SBFSS)

Established in 1987, this scheme caters for students from the People's Republic of China and complements the bilateral assistance which is also provided under the Technical Co-operation Training Programme.

The SBFSS is jointly funded by the British Government (through the ODA), the Hong Kong businessman, Sir Y.K.Pao, and the Chinese Government. The ODA contributes £0.7m a year to the scheme which in 1989/90 supported 620 students. Applications are initiated in China and channelled through the State Education Commission in Beijing. The British Council administers the scheme in Britain.

4. Commonwealth Nassau Fellowships

The establishment of a new Commonwealth scheme of awards for black South African students was agreed at the 1985 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at Nassau. British contributions to the Nassau Fellowships Scheme began in 1987. Expenditure in 1989/90 was £650,000 on the ODA budget and provided 120 scholarships. The majority of the expenditure is on awards administered by the British Government but a small proportion is channelled through the Commonwealth Secretariat for multilateral awards. Bilateral British awards are mainly for postgraduate students; under the multilateral scheme, preference is given to candidates who have not already obtained a first degree or professional qualification. Candidates are chosen mainly in the fields of education, science and technology and selection is carried out by the British Council in South Africa.

5. British Undergraduate Fellowships Scheme (BRUFS)

The BRUFS was set up in 1987 to help alleviate the economic and social difficulties experienced by black South Africans. Funding stood at £2 million in 1988/89 and supported 150 undergraduate students. Awards are mainly for three year science and vocational courses. Where necessary, funding will also be provided for enrolment on preliminary bridging courses. Selection is carried out in South Africa by the Education Opportunities Council and the British Council.

6. The Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan (CSFP)

The CSFP was established in 1959. Its aim is to assist Commonwealth students and academics of high intellectual ability to study in other Commonwealth countries so as to

strengthen common ideals and to promote equality of educational opportunity at the highest level. The programme enjoys considerable prestige throughout the Commonwealth. Over twenty member countries provide awards under the plan with the largest contribution coming from Britain. British expenditure stood at £10.96 million in 1989/90 when 970 awards were made. The number of awards has fallen in recent years. For example, nearly 1,250 were funded in 1984/85.

Scholarships are primarily for postgraduate research degrees. Fellowships are for established teachers in higher education and medicine and for postdoctoral work. British awards for citizens of the developing Commonwealth are financed out of the ODA's aid vote and those for citizens of developed countries out of the FCO's diplomatic wing vote. Administration of the plan in Britain is undertaken by the Association of Commonwealth Universities on behalf of the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission. Candidates are nominated by local committees in the Commonwealth country concerned but final selection takes place in the UK.

7. The FCO Scholarships and Award Schemes (FCO SAS)

The purpose of the FCO SAS is to help meet Britain's foreign policy objectives, including diplomatic, cultural and trade-related interests, by bringing to the UK present and future leaders, decision-makers, formers of opinion and particularly able students. The scheme came into being in 1983, as part of the Pym Package of additional support. The scheme is financed by the FCO (diplomatic wing). It is the most rapidly expanding of all Government scholarship schemes. In 1989/90, expenditure stood at £13.62 million and 2,310 awards were made. For a number of reasons outlined in chapter 4, the scheme will continue to grow over the next few years.

Candidates are selected by British Diplomatic Missions overseas. Administrative duties in Britain are shared by the FCO (Overseas Students Policy Section of the Cultural Relations Department) and the British Council. Applicants in any subject field are eligible for awards but support is generally restricted to post-graduate or post-experience candidates, except where local undergraduate provision is limited. Three levels of award are made, which vary in size according to need and the availability of funds. They range from scholarships which meet the overseas tuition fee, in part or full, to grants which cover students' entire expenses (fees, living allowance, and travel).

8. The FCO's Country/Territory Support Schemes

These fee-support schemes were established in 1983 under the Pym Package. They were designed to assist some of the countries which, over the years, have had strong political and commercial links with Britain and which have traditionally sent large numbers of students to the UK. The three principal beneficiaries have been Malaysia, Hong Kong and Cyprus. Bermuda, the Cayman Islands and certain other dependent territories have also received support under the schemes. With the exception of that for Hong Kong, the schemes are presently being phased out, to be replaced by the FCOSAS. All schemes have been financed by the FCO, primarily from the diplomatic wing budget. In 1989/90, by which time phasing out of the schemes had already begun, expenditure stood at £3.79 million and 2,700 students were supported. Awards have been available for undergraduate study in most institutions in the UK. Although administrative procedures differ from scheme to scheme, a significant feature of each has been that selection has been outside the control of the British Government. As such they have represented a degree of indiscriminate subsidy within the overall structure of targeted support.

9. Marshall Aid Commemoration Scholarships

The scheme originated in 1953 as a practical expression of the British people's appreciation of the aid given by the United States under the Marshall Plan. The awards are open to US citizens who are aged under 26 years and who are graduates of US universities. Award-holders undertake study to degree (ususally postgraduate) level in any subject at a British university. Awards are competitive and cover tuition fees, maintenance, books, thesis and travel allowances. The scheme is financed by the British Government through the FCO. Its budget in 1989/90 was £0.87million which supported 70 awards. Initial selection of candidates is undertaken by 5 regional committees in the USA. The scheme is administered in Britain by the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, with a secretariat provided by the Association of Commonwealth Universities.

10. British Council Fellowships Programme (BCFP)

The BCFP was introduced in 1985, following an internal review of the British Council Scholarship Scheme, which dated from 1937 and which it succeeded. The purpose of the Fellowship Programme is to provide study opportunities in the UK for individuals likely, in the medium term, to be influential in their professions and to promote an enduring understanding and appreciation of Britain.

The BCFP budget stood at £4.7 million in 1989/90 when 1,750 awards were made. Responsibilty for policy and administration rests with the British Council, whose overseas representatives are responsible for the initial selection of candidates from the academic and professional spheres. Awards, which last from 2 months to 3 years, are tenable at British universities and polytechnics, as well as in public corporations and private institutions. The level of funding offered varies from a prestigious full scholarship to a grant-in-aid.

In addition to the Fellowships, a small number of Senior Fellowships are offered annually. These are intended to stimulate media, broadcasting, and public sector as well as academic contacts. Most Senior Fellows are attached to an academic institution. The British Council also administers exchange programmes with countries in the Eastern Bloc.

11. The Overseas Research Students Awards Scheme (ORSAS)

This scheme started in 1980 to mitigate the effects of the full-cost fees policy for overseas students. It seeks to ensure a continued supply of high quality full-time research postgraduates to British universities. The awards are granted annually (although they can be renewed) on a competitive basis. The only criteria governing selection are academic merit and research potential.

The scheme is financed by the Department of Education and Science. Expenditure on ORSAS amounted to £6.2m in 1989/90 when 1,900 students benefited under the scheme. Awards cover the difference between the home and the overseas rates of fee. The scheme is administered by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP), and candidates initially apply for the award through the academic institution at which they study.

12. Fulbright Commission Scholarships (US/UK Educational Commission)

The Fulbright scholarship programme originated in 1948 in order to further practical understanding between the United States and Britain.

Until 1965, the scheme was funded entirely from the USA. Since then the British Government, through the Department of Education and Science, has provided one-third of the budget. Britain's contribution stood at £0.3 million in 1989/90.

Both British and American citizens benefit. At present, about 50 scholars cross the Atlantic in either direction each year.

Awards tenable in Britain cover living expenses, tuition fees and return travel. Scholarships are held by students at predoctoral level. Senior scholarships are also provided for lecturers and researchers.

13. Confederation of British Industry (CBI) Scholarships

Jointly funded by the DTI and the CBI/British Industry, this scheme was established in 1950 enable graduate engineers from overseas to visit and work with UK firms for periods of up to one year. More than 2,500 engineers from over 70 countries have benefited since the scheme started. In 1989/90, 84 awards were made at a cost to the DTI of £0.22 million.

14. Hands on (Trade-related) Training Scheme

The newest of the Government's schemes of support for overseas students, the Hands on Training Scheme is funded by the DTI in conjunction with British industry. It began operating in April 1989 and the Government contribution to its budget for 1989/90, when 25 award-holders were expected to benefit, was £0.25 million. The scheme is intended complement the FCOSAS insofar as that scheme has trade-related objectives. The objective is to boost Britain's medium and long-term commercial prospects by bringing candidates from countries which are key trading partners (actual and potential) to this country for training and work experience. Award-holders will be senior people who are already established in positions of responsibility overseas.

APPENDIX C

Key policy statements on overseas students since 1979.

1. The full-cost fees announcement 1979

Given the overriding need to reduce public expenditure while giving priority to home students, the Government considers it right to remove progressively the current subsidy in the education budget of around £100m a year on provision for overseas students. Accordingly, as from the start of the academic year 1980-81, all overseas students who begin courses of higher and further education in Great Britain will be expected to pay a fee covering the full cost of tuition.

(Extract from a DES Press Notice, November 1979)

2. The announcement of the Pym Package 1983

On 9 June 1982...I [Mr. Francis Pym, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs] set out the Government's initial response to the study published by the Overseas Students Trust [Williams, P., A Policy for Overseas Students] published on 6 June. I said then that the study represented, in the Government's view, a comprehensive and constructive contribution to the development of future policy on overseas students; and that we would seriously consider its recommendations, although I stressed the financial constraints.

The Government have now completed their consideration of the trust's recommendations and have taken into account the views of the many outside bodies interested in this field.

They have concluded that it is in the national interest, both in the short term and in the longer term, to provide more help to enable overseas students to come to this country for their further and higher education. The Government have therefore decided to increase their support for overseas students by £46 million over the next three years. This will involve an additional sum of £25 million from the contingency reserve and a reallocation of resources within the aid programme amounting to £21 million. This money will be used to finance a number of new measures involving provision for some 5,000 to 6,000 additional scholarships and awards each year...

The Government believes that it is right and in our interests to encourage students from abroad. We have responded positively to the recommendations of the Overseas Students Trust. I know that this will be widely welcomed both in this House and elsewhere.

(From: House of Commons Official Report, Parliamentary Debates, (Hansard),8th February 1983.)

3. Review of policy by a Foreign Office Minister 1985

Given the reasons [educational, developmental, economic and commercial, and political] that I have just listed for welcoming overseas students, it is natural to ask why in 1979 we changed our policy of universal support. The main reason was, of course, related to the cost to the British taxpayer. As part of the British Government's overall economic strategy we felt it right to correct a previous distortion whereby overseas students were in effect being given very substantial subsidies; and to charge them the economic cost of their tuition. In place of the previous indiscriminate subsidy we changed to a targetted policy of help...The introduction of economic costs was only a first stage in the action that needed to be taken...*

HMG has an important role to play in overseas student matters but there must be a limit to the help that we can provide. We are doing all we can to ensure that our money is spread as widely as possible so that the maximum number benefit. We shall try to attract matching funds whether from overseas Governments or from British private firms or institutions wherever possible...At the same time, our education institutions themselves have a role to play in attracting overseas students to take advantage of what is still one of Britain's greatest assets: the high quality of her tertiary education.

(From:Renton, R.T., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Government Policy on Overseas Students, First Annual Lecture to the London Conference on Overseas Students, London, February 1985.)

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* Note: This elicited comment in the Times Higher Education Supplement of 1st March 1985, under the headline History is Rewritten. The leader writer pointed out that Minister Renton's analysis was misleading in that it elided the events of 1979 and 1983. At the time of the introduction of full-cost fees, no thought had been given to targeted scholarship support which had come in the shape of the Pym Package only in response to the difficulties caused by the 1979 decision.

4. The Green Paper of 1985

3.13 The United Kingdom has a long tradition of contributing to the educational needs of other countries by receiving and welcoming their students. There is an immediate value in the exchange which benefits both the students and the receiving institutions and there are long term mutual benefits through better understanding, goodwill, increased commercial exchange and improved diplomatic relations.

3.14 The great majority of overseas students must be expected to pay fees that cover the cost of their education. They should not be subsidised by the British taxpayer. The Government accepts that it is for institutions and local authorities to determine the actual fees to be charged in the light of their own circumstances. Universities and other institutions may wish to use private funds to help overseas students to study here.

3.15 The Government is however committed to a policy of targeted support for overseas students which meets the needs of particular overseas countries and is in line with British policy objectives. The various Government-funded award schemes are supporting over 16,000 students in 1984-85 at a cost of over £70 million. Of these, around 13,000 students are engaged in higher education. The Government values the traditional educational links between the United Kingdom and other members of the Commonwealth and a substantial part of its award schemes support Commonwealth students.

3.16 Provision has been made for improved consultations on overseas student policy by bringing together Government Departments and a wide range of interested parties. Government Departments are now examining how best to use the limited available funds to bring the most appropriate students to the United Kingdom. Discussions are also aking place on further shared funding arrangements with industry and commerce.

3.17 Advice and information about British higher education overseas has long been provided by the British Council, which is financially supported by the taxpayer. The British Council has recently launched a series of market surveys of overseas demand for , and perception of, British higher education overseas, and has established an Education Counselling Service in three pilot centres in Malaysia, Hong Kong and Singapore. The majority of universities and polytechnics have subscribed to the Service and if it is successful geographical coverage will be extended.

3.18 Overseas students will be attracted to the UK and take back good reports of their experience here only if the courses offered are relevant to their needs, and if adequate and timely information necessary for an appropriate choice of course and

institution is readily available. They should be adequately prepared for life and study in the United Kingdom. Our educational institutions should have a fully developed and integrated academic and welfare policy that recognises the special tutorial needs of some students, and the difficulties many students encounter on first moving to a wholly new academic, social and physical environment. The Government is co-operating with, and partly funding, a programme of policy studies, including a survey of overseas students, now being undertaken by the Overseas Students Trust. It is also contributing on a regular basis to the running costs of the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affaeirs.

(From: H.M. Government: The Development of Higher Education into the 1990s, Cmnd. 9524, London, May 1985.)

5. The White Paper of 1987

2.25 Britain welcomes overseas students. The Government maintains its commitment to targeted support for them - currently some £86m per year - to meet the needs of overseas countries and to reflect its various policy objectives. It recognises as well the educational benefits that the presence of overseas students can bring to higher education institutions. After a decline following the introduction of full-cost fees in 1980, the numbers of overseas students in higher education have increased and are now again approaching the peak level of 1978.

(From: H.M. Government: Higher Education: meeting the challenge, Cmnd. 114, London, April 1987.)

6. Submissions to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee 1989

a) The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Geoffrey Howe), January 1989

After the introduction of full-cost fees had removed the indiscriminate subsidy for all overseas students, we introduced measures to bring overseas students to Britain on a selective basis, notably the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Scholarships and Awards Scheme (FCOSAS)...We devote substantial resources to this scheme and other FCO support for overseas students from both develoing and developed countries...The ODA meanwhile spend a much larger sum (£77 million in the current year) exclusively on students from developing countries, who therefore receive the lion's share of government funded awards.

These programmes, together with other government scholarship schemes, currently support some 20,000 overseas students at a cost of about £100 million. The total number of overseas students in British universities was by 1986-87 already above the level of 1979-80, the year when full-cost fees were introduced, and indeed exceeded the previous peak, achieved in 1978-79. The polytechnics and other tertiary sector institutions have not fared so well, but the downward trend there began before the introduction of full-cost fees. The matter of whether full-cost fees should be charged to overseas students in the tertiary sector is of course essentially one for Kenneth Baker [the Secretary of State for Education].

b) The Secretary of State for Education and Science (Mr. Kenneth Baker), February 1989

The Government's general policy is that overseas students are welcome to come to this country to study but that, apart from European Community students to whom special conditions apply, overseas students should expect to pay fees which reflect the full cost of the tuition they receive. We do not believe that it represents a good use of taxpayers' money to provide an indiscriminate fees subsidy for such students. Instead, support is provided for targeted groups through a number of award schemes...The level of fees charged is determined not by the Government but by individual institutions, advised in some cases by bodies such as the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals.

(From: House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, Session 1988-89, Funding for Overseas Students (Minutes of Evidence), 1st March 1989, London, 1989.)

APPENDIX D

Higher education institutions in the United Kingdom

Universities and university institutions

University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen AB9 1FX.

Aston University, Aston Triangle, Birmingham B4 7ET.

University of Bath, Claverton Down, Bath BA2 7AY.

Queen's University of Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN.

University of Birmingham, PO Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT.

University of Bradford, Richmond Road, Bradford BD7 1DP.

University of Bristol, Senate House, Bristol BS8 1TH.

Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex UB8 3PH.

University of Buckingham, Buckingham MK18 1EG.

University of Cambridge, The Old Schools, Trinity Lane, Cambridge CB2 1TN.

City University, Northampton Square, London EC1V 0HB.

Cranfield Institute of Technology, Central Business Exchange, Milton Keynes MK9 2EN.

University of Dundee, Dundee DD1 4HN.

University of Durham, Old Shire Hall, Durham DH1 3HP.

University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ.

University of Edinburgh, Old College, South Bridge, Edinburgh EH8 9YL.

University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester CO4 3SQ.

University of Exeter, Northcote House, The Queen's Drive, Exeter EX4 4QJ.

University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ.

Heriot Watt University, Riccarton, Edinburgh EH14 4AS.

University of Hull, Hull HU6 7RX.

University of Keele, Keele, Staffordshire ST5 5BG.

University of Kent at Canterbury, Canterbury CT2 7NZ.

University of Lancaster, University House, Lancaster LA1 4YW.

University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT.

University of Leicester, University Road, Leicester LE1 7RH.

University of Liverpool, PO Box 147, Liverpool L69 3BX.

University of London, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU. (See below for separate list of the Colleges and Institutes of the University.)

London Business School, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, London NW1 4SA.

Loughborough University of Technology, Loughborough LE11 3TU.

University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL.

University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST), PO Box 88, Sackville Street, Manchester M60 1QD.

Manchester Business School, Booth Street West, Manchester M15 6PB

University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE1 7RU.

University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD.

Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA.

University of Oxford, University Offices, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD.

University of Reading, Whiteknights, PO Box 217, Reading RG6 2AH.

Royal College of Art, Kensington Gore, London SW7 2EU.

University of St Andrews, St Andrews, Fife KY16 9AJ.

University of Salford, Salford M5 4WT.

University of Sheffield, Sheffield S10 2TN.

University of Southampton, Highfield, Southampton SO9 5NH.

University of Stirling, Stirling FK9 4LA.

University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XQ.

University of Surrey, Guildford, Surrey GU2 5XH.

University of Sussex, Sussex House, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RH.

University of Ulster, University House, Cromore Road, Coleraine, County Londonderry BT52 1SA.

University of Wales, University Registry, Cathays Park, Cardiff CF1 3NS. Constituent colleges:

University College of Wales, PO Box 2, Aberystwyth, Dyfed SY23 2AX.

University College of North Wales, Bangor, Gwynedd LL57 2DG.

University of Wales College of Cardiff, PO Box 68, Cardiff CF1 3XA.

University of Wales College of Medicine, Heath Park Cardiff CF4 4XN.

St David's University College, Lampeter, Dyfed SA48 7ED.

University College of Swansea, Singleton Park, Swansea SA2 8PP.

University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL.

University of York, Heslington, York YO1 5DD.

Colleges and institutes of the University of London

Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HX.

British Postgraduate Medical Federation, 33, Millman Street, London WC1N 3EJ (comprising the following: Institutes of Cancer Research, Child Health, Dental Surgery, Neurology, Opthalmology, and Psychiatry, the Hunterian Institute and the National Heart and Lung Institute).

Charing Cross and Westminster Medical School, The Reynolds Building, St Dunstan's Road, London W6 8RP.

Courtauld Institute of Art, 20 Portman Square, London W1H 0BE.

Goldsmith's College, New Cross, London SE14 6NW.

Heythrop College, 11-13 Cavendish Square, London W1M 0AN.

Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine, South Kensington, London SW7 2AZ.

Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, Charles Clore House, 17 Russell Square, London WC1B 5DR.

Institute of Classical Studies, 31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PY.

Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 27-28 Russell Square, London WC1B 5DS.

Institute of Education, 20 Bedford Way, London WC1H 0AL.

Institute of Germanic Studies, 29 Russell Square, London WC1B 5DP.

Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU.

Institute of Latin American Studies, 31 Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9HA.

Institute of United States Studies, 31 Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9EZ.

King's College, Strand, London WC2R 2LS.

London Hospital Medical College, Turner Street, London E1 2AD.

London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE.

London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street, London WC1E 7HT.

Queen Mary and Westfield College, Mile End Road, London E1 4NS.

Royal Free Hospital School of Medicine, Rowland Hill Street, London NW3 2PF.

Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, Egham Hill, Egham, Surrey TW20 0EX.

Royal Postgraduate Medical School, Hammersmith Hospital, Du Cane Road, London W12 0NN.

St Bartholomew's Hospital Medical College, West Smithfield, London EC1A 7BE.

St George's Hospital Medical School, Cranmer Terrace, Tooting, London SW17 ORE.

School of Oriental and African Studies, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H OXG.

School of Pharmacy, 29-39 Brunswick Square, London WC1N 1AX.

School of Slavonic and Easdt European Studies, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU.

United Medical and Dental Schools of Guy's and St Thomas's Hospitals, Lambeth Palace Road, London SE1 7EH.

University College London, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT.

Warburg Institute, Woburn Square, London WC1H OAB.

Wye College, Wye, Ashford, Kent TN25 5AH.

Polytechnics

Birmingham Polytechnic, Perry Barr, Birmingham B42 2SU.

Brighton Polytechnic, Moulsecoomb, Lewes Road, Brighton BN2 2AT.

Bristol Polytechnic, Coldharbour Lane. Frenchay, Bristol BS16 1QY.

Polytecnic of Central London, 309 Regent Street, London W1R 8AL.

City of London Polytechnic, 31 Jewry Street, London EC3N 2EY.

Coventry Polytechnic, Priory Street, Coventry CV1 5FB.

Polytechnic of East London, Romford Road, London E15 4LZ.

Hatfield Polytechnic, College Lane, Hatfield, Herts. AL10 9AB.

Huddersfield Polytechnic, Queensgate, Huddersfield HD1 3DH.

Kingston Polytechnic, Penrhyn Road, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey KT1 2EE.

Lancashire Polytechnic, Preston PR1 2TQ.

Leeds Polytechnic, Calverley Street, Leeds LS1 3HE.

Leicester Polytechnic, PO Box 143, Leicester LE1 9BH.

Liverpool Polytechnic, Rodney House, 70 Mount Pleasant, Liverpool L3 5UX.

Manchester Polytechnic, All Saints, Manchester M15 6BH.

Middlesex Polytechnic, Trent Park, Cockfosters Road, Barnet, Herts. EN4 OPT.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Polytechnic, Ellison Place, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE1 8ST.

Polytechnic of North London, Holloway Road, London N7 8DB.

Oxford Polytechnic, Headington, Oxford OX3 OBP.

Portsmouth Polytechnic, Museum Road, Portsmouth PO1 2QQ.

Sheffield City Polytechnic, Pond Street, Sheffield S1 1WB.

South Bank Polytechnic, Borough Road, London SE1 OAA.

Polytechnic South West, Drake Circus, Plymouth PL4 8AA.

Staffordshire Polytechnic, College Road, Stoke-on-Trent ST4 2DE.

Sunderland Polytechnic, Ryhope Road, Sunderland SR2 7EE.

Teeside Polytechnic, Borough Road, Middlesborough TS1 3BA.

Thames Polytechnic, Wellington Street, Woolwich, London SE18 6PF.

Nottingham Polytechnic, Burton Street, Nottingham NG1 4BU.

Polytechnic of Wales, Pontypridd, Mid Glamorgan CF37 1DL.

Wolverhampton Polytechnic, Molineux Street, Wolverhampton WV1 1SB.

Scottish Central Institutions

Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, Perth Road, Dundee DD1 4HT.

Dundee Institute of Technology, Bell Street, Dundee DD1 1HG.

East of Scotland College of Agriculture, West Mains Road, Edinburgh EH9 3JG.

Edinburgh College of Art, Lauriston Place, Edinburgh EH3 9DF.

Glasgow College, 70, Cowcaddens Road, Glasgow G4 0BA.

Glasgow School of Art, 167 Renfrew Street, Glasgow G3 6RQ.

Napier Polytechnic, 219 Colinton Road, Edinburgh EH14 1DJ.

North of Scotland College of Agriculture, 581 King Street, Aberdeen AB9 1UD.

Paisley College of Technology, High Street, Paisley PA1 2BE.

Queen Margaret College, Clerwood Terrace. Edinburgh EH12 8TS.

Queen's College, 1 Park Drive, Glasgow G3 6LP.

Robert Gordon's Institute of Technology, Schoolhill, Aberdeen AB9 1FR.

Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama, 100 Renfrew Street, Glasgow G2 3DB.

Scottish School of Textiles, Netherdale, Galashiels TD1 3HF.

West of Scotland College, Auchincruive, Ayr KA6 5HW.

Colleges and institutes of higher education *

Anglia College of HE, East Road, Cambridge CB1 1PT.

Bath College of HE, Newton Park, Newton St Loe, Bath BA2 9BN.

Bishop Grossetete College, Lincoln LN1 3DY.

Bolton Institute of HE, Deane Road, Bolton BL3 5AB.

Bretton Hall College of HE, West Bretton, Wakefield WF4 4LG.

Buckinghamshire College of HE, Queen Alexandra Road, High Wycombe HP11 2JZ.

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* This section includes only those institutions which come under the aegis of the Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council.

Camborne School of Mines, Pool, Redruth TR15 3SE.

Central School of Speech and Drama, Eton Avenue,
London NW3 3HY.

Charlotte Mason College of Education, Ambleside,
Cumbria LA22 9BB.

Chester College of HE, Cheyney Road, Chester CH1 4BJ.

Christ Church College of HE, North Holmes Road,
Canterbury CT1 1QU.

College of Ripon and York St John, Lord Mayor's Walk,
York YO3 7EX.

College of St Mark and St John, Derriford Road,
Plymouth PL6 8BH.

College of St Paul And St Mary, The Park, Cheltenham GL50 2RH.

Crewe and Alsager College of HE, Crewe Road, Crewe CW1 1DU.

Dartington College of Arts, Totnes, Devon TQ9 6EJ.

Derbyshire College of HE, Kedleston Road, Derby DE3 1GB.

Dorset Institute of HE, Wallisdowne Road, Wallisdowne,
Poole BH12 5BB.

Ealing College of HE, St Mary's Road, Ealing, London W5 5RF.

Edge Hill College of HE, St Helen's Road, Ormskirk L39 4QP.

Falmouth School of Art and Design, Woodlane, Falmouth TR11 4RA.

Harper Adams Agricultural College, Newport,
Shropshire TF10 8NB.

Homerton College, Cambridge CB2 2PH.

Humberside College of HE, Cottingham Road, Hull HU6 7RT.

Kent Institute of Art and Design, Oakwood Park, Oakwood Road,
Maidstone ME16 8AG.

King Alfred's College, Sparkford Road, Winchester SO22 4NR.

La Sainte Union College of HE, The Avenue, Southampton SO9 5HB.

Liverpool Institute of HE, Stand Park Road, Liverpool L16 9JD.

London Institute, 388-396, Oxford Street, London W1R 1FE.
Comprising:
Camberwell College of Art;
Central St Martin's College of Art and Design;
Chelsea College of Art and Design;
College for the Distributive Trades;
London College of Fashion;
London College of Printing.

Loughborough College of Art and Design, Radmoor, Loughborough LE11 3BT.

Luton College of HE, Park Square, Luton LU1 3JU.

Nene College, Moulton Park, Northampton NN2 7AL.

Newman and Westhill College, Genners Lane, Bartley Green, Birmingham B32 3NT.

North Riding College, Filey Road, Scarborough YO11 3AZ.

Ravensbourne College of Design and Communication, Walden Road, Chislehurst, Kent BR7 5SN.

Roehampton Institute of HE, Roehampton Lane, London SW15 5PU.

Rose Bruford College of Speech and Drama, Lamorbey Park, Sidcup, Kent DA15 9DF.

Royal Academy of Music, Marylebone Road, Lodon NW1 5HT.

Royal College of Music, Prince Consort Road, London SW7 2BS.

Royal Northern College of Music, 124 Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9RD.

St Martin's College of HE, Lancaster LA1 3JD.

St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, Middlesex TW1 4SX.

Salford College of Technology, Frederick Road, Salford M6 6PU.

South West London College, Tooting Broadway, London SW17 0TQ.

Southampton Institute of HE, East Park Terrace, Southampton SO9 4WW.

Thames Valley College of HE, Wellington Street, Slough SL1 1YG.

Trinity and All Saints' College, Brownberrie Lane, Horsforth, Leeds LS18 5HD.

Trinity College of Music, 11-13 Mandeville Place, London W1M 6AQ.

West London Institute of HE, 300 St Margaret's Road, Twickenham, Middlesex TW1 1PT.

West Surrey College of Art and Design, Falkner Road, The Hart, Farnham GU9 7DS.

West Sussex Institute of HE, Upper Bognor Road, Bognor Regis PO21 1HR.

Westminster College of HE, Battersea Park Road, London SW11 4JR.

Winchester Scool of Art, Park Avenue, Winchester SO23 8DL.

Worcester College of HE, Henwick Grove, Worcester WR2 6AJ.

APPENDIX E

Organisations involved in overseas student affairs and in education

Government Departments

Department of Education and Science (DES), Elizabeth House, York Road, London SE17PH.

Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), 1 Victoria Street, London SW1H 0ET.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), Cultural Relations Department, Old Admiralty Building, Whitehall, London SW1A 2AF.

Home Office, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AT.

Overseas Development Administration (ODA), Eland House, Stag Place, London SW1E 5DH.

Northern Ireland Education Department, Rathgael House, Balloo Road, Bangor, County Down, Northern Ireland BT19 2PR.

Scottish Education Department, New St Andrew's House, St James Centre, Edinburgh EH1 2SY.

Welsh Office Education Department, Cathays Park, Cardiff CF1 3NQ

Organisations directly concerned with overseas student affairs

a) National organisations

Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF.

The British Council, 10 Spring Gardens, London SW1A 2BN.

Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges, Seymour Mews House, Seymour Mews, Wigmore Street, London W1H 9PE.

Churches Commission on Overseas Students, 2 Chester House, Pages Lane, Muswell Hill, London N10 1PR.

Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the United Kingdom, 36, Gordon Square, London WC1H OPF.

Commonwealth Youth Exchange Council, 18 Fleet Street, London EC4Y 1AA.

Council for Education in the Commonwealth, c/o LCCI, Marlow House, Station Road, Sidcup DA15 7BT.

Hosting for Overseas Students (HOST), Commonwealth House, 18, Northumberland Avenue, London WC2N 5BJ.

Overseas Students Trust, 177 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London SW1V 1ER.

UK Council for Overseas Student Affairs (UKCOSA), 60 Westbourne Grove, London W2 5FG.

The Victoria League for Commonwealth Friendship, 18 Northumberland Avenue, London WC2N 5BJ.

World University Service (WUS), 20-21 Compton Street, London N1 2UN.

b) Regional organisations

International Family Service for Overseas Students, Waterloo House, Waterloo Street, Birmingham B2 5TP.

International Society Manchester, 84 Plymouth Grove, Manchester M13 9LW.

Kent Overseas Student Co-operation, ELT Unit, Christ Church College, North Holmes Road, Canterbury, Kent.

Leeds Council for Overseas Student Affairs, 155 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds LS2 3ED.

London Conference on Overseas Students, c/o 24 Campana Road, Fulham, London SW6 4AU.

Merseyside Conference for Overseas Students, c/o Guild of Undergraduates, University of Liverpool, 2 Bedford Street North, Liverpool L7 7BD.

North East Council for Overseas Student Affairs, International Student Centre, Brunswick Methodist Church, Brunswick Place, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE1 7BJ.

Nottingham Area Council for Overseas Student Affairs, 61b Mansfield Road, Nottingham NG1 3FN.

OSPREY International Students Advisory Council, 4a Bruntsfield Crescent, Edinburgh EH10 4EZ.

South East Wales Council for Overseas Student Affairs, c/o Polytechnic of Wales, Llantwit Road, Treforest, Pontypridd, Mid Glamorgan CF37 1DL.

Thames Valley Council for Overseas Student Affairs, c/o University Offices, Wellington Street, Oxford OX1 2JD.

Organisations in UK education

Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H OPF.

Association of Recognised English Language Schools/Federation of English Labguage Course Organisations (ARELS/FELCO), 125 High Holborn, London WC1V 6QD.

British Accreditation Council for Independent Further and Higher Education (BACIFHE), c/o Middlesex Polytechnic, Bounds Green Road, London N11 2NQ.

Committee of Directors of Polytechnics (CDP), 309 Regent Street, London W1R 7PE.

Committee of Principals and Directors of the Scottish Central Institutions, Queen Margaret College, Clerwood Terrace, Edinburgh EH12 8TS.

Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the UK (CVCP), 23 Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9EZ.

Council of Local Education Authorities (CLEA), Eaton House, Eaton Square, Westminster, London SW1W 9BH.

Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA), 344-354 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8BP.

National Union of Students (NUS), Nelson Mandela House, 461 Holloway Road, London N7 6LJ.

Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council (PCFC), Metropolis House, 22 Percy Street, London W1P 9FF.

Standing Conference of Principals (SCOP) (HE colleges), c/o Humberside College of Higher Education, Cottingham Road, Hull HU6 7RT.

Universities Funding Council (UFC), 14 Park Crescent, London W1N 4DH.

Clearing houses for applications

Art and Design Admissions Registry (ADAR), Penn House, 9 Broad Street, Hereford HR4 9AP.

Central Register and Clearing House (CRCH) (initial teacher training), 3 Crawford Place, London W1H 2BN.

Graduate Teacher Training Registry (GTTR), 3 Crawford Place, London W1H 2BN.

Polytechnics Central Admissions System (PCAS), PO Box 67, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire GL50 3SA.

Universities Central Council on Admissions (UCCA), PO Box 28, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire GL50 3SA.

APPENDIX F

Select bibliography

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